THE SURVEY

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The New Germany: 1919-1929

A Special Number

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BIRD'S-EYE view of today's Germany—ten years' development since the Armistice and the so-called revolution which ended the monarchy and the Hohenzollern dynasty. That is what this issue of Survey Graphic is all about. The table of contents at the left pretty well tells its own story of the scope of it and the exceptional list of contributors, each with his or her own peculiar fitness. We intended in this place to dilate upon the qualifications of each; but last-minute crowding precludes that, as it has compelled other regrettable omissions.

Leading and significant at this psychological moment when the readjustment of "reparations" is being tackled, are the utterances of the German prime minister, Herman Müller, and Dr. Gustav Stresemann, foreign minister and collaborator in all that is implied in the word "Locarno," who speak for Germany within and without. Behind them come an illustrious procession of writers authoritative in their fields—intellectual, cultural, political, economic, social, international. A notable galaxy, speaking for itself.

This number has been under general editorial charge of JOHN PALMER GAVIT, secretary of Survey Associates and foreign service editor of The Survey, whose monthly department, Through Neighbors' Doorways, is a regular feature of Survey Graphic. This time the entered doorway is the ancient Brandenburger Tor, symbol of what Germany was and of what it is now. Mr. Gavit spent all of the past summer in Germany, gathering material for this issue.

This number of Survey Graphic puts to the test what we mean when we call Survey Graphic a "shuttle of understanding." We are likely to be damned for it alike by those irreconcilables still simmering with war-psychoses, and by those of German origin who resent the yeasty forces at work in their old-new Fatherland. All the more for that—this is typically "a Survey job;" quite precisely because the situation is vital, human, controversial, reaches deep and needs illumination.

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Portrait of a child, by Hedwig von Schlieben — *F. Denks Gallery, New York*

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THE SURVEY

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Three Germans

AGAINST the bewildering background of these momentous eventful years in Germany, as always in such periods, stands forth a group of conspicuous figures; some great in their own right, some forced by circumstances into unwonted significance; some having greatness thrust upon or dug out of them. Among these, it is sure, history, whatever its ultimate verdict as to the importance of others, never can forget these three:

First, the man who, however unwittingly and unwillingly, served his country best by running away, ending both a dynasty and an epoch.

Second, a workingman, a saddlemaker, a Socialist, who, having been called a traitor by both extremes, became first president of the new Republic and saved his Fatherland from the logic of his own party's political philosophy.

Third, an aristocrat, an ultra-nationalist and ultra-conservative by training and temperament, a militarist, field-marshal and national war-hero; sworn by a great oath to monarchy and dynasty; a man old in years—almost eighty. Succeeding that workingman as president, he likewise saved the Republic from the logic of his own party's political philosophy; observed with scrupulous fidelity both the letter and the spirit of the oath that he took under the flag of the new democracy, and became the chief pillar and corner-stone of the Republic.

William II, of Hohenzollern, fugitive and exile, under military surveillance in Holland. Friedrich Ebert, who died in office in 1925, victim of the strenuous years of war and reconstruction. Paul von Hindenburg und Beneckendorff, now more than ever the idol of all Germany, as he stands apart from and above all political parties and keeps faith with the new republican flag that floats always over his house in the Wilhelmstrasse.

IT is no part of our purpose to go into biographical detail about these men; especially about the fugitive ex-emperor. He is not of today's picture.

"We never could have saved Germany from chaos and the horrors of general civil war," one of the most influential men in Germany said to me, with unanimous assent of all the kindred group who heard him say it, "if the Kaiser had not behaved so badly." Friedrich Ebert sleeps, as the saying goes, at Heidelberg, his birthplace. None can say to what pass Germany might have come without him. His name is perpetuated in those of a score of schools and streets in German cities, and in the great Friedrich-Ebert Bridge at Mannheim; his courage and devotion, in the being of the Republic.

EBERT was not chosen out of the blue. For years he had been conspicuous among Social-Democrats; he was leader of his party in the Reichstag when its more conservative majority gave its support to the German government in the War, and in so doing drove a wedge of undying hostility between its

1919-1929

THREE major experiments in government emerged in Europe from the chaos of the World War:

In Russia—Communism, succeeding an absolute despotism under "the Autocrat of all the Russias."

In Italy—a virtual dictatorship, somewhat of Caesar's sort, by Mussolini's hand-forged Fascismo: succeeding a constitutional monarchy, though in form, at least, retaining the throne which had united Italy.

In Germany—a constitutional democratic republic, not greatly dissimilar to our own, succeeding an autocracy dominated by Prussia, the largest, most populous state whose king was ipso facto emperor.

Survey Graphic has interpreted the new Russia in a special issue in March, 1923, and the new Italy in March, 1927. Here now, after ten years of that new German Republic, is an attempt at a bird's-eye view of its present status—through the eyes of outside observers and of Germans to whom the experiences and achievements have been things of blood and bone.

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own Right and Left; in the eyes of the latter, classing himself forever as a traitor to the radical cause. In the memorable days of early November, 1918, it was Ebert who, with Scheidemann, served notice of repudiation upon the frightened and palsied cabinet of Prince Max of Baden (the last imperial chancellor of Germany), and it was Ebert to whom Prince Max formally surrendered the chancellorship. The whole constructive temper of the man, and that in general of the mass of his party then and since, is displayed in his proclamation of November 9 upon assuming responsibility for the government:

> Fellow citizens: The late chancellor, with the assent of all his ministers, has transferred to me the direction of affairs. I shall form a government in association with the parties. The new government will be a People's Government. Its aim must be to bring peace to the German people as quickly as possible, and to safeguard the freedom which it has won. Fellow citizens, I implore you to preserve tranquillity and order.

A little while there was a degree of cooperation between the Socialist Right and Left; but the dissonance of purpose and temper was fundamental, and in the end the Communist Left was suppressed, almost if not quite as ruthlessly as it would have been by the old autocracy. The moderates of all parties undoubtedly represented the real desire of the German people, and those few days ten years ago, with much disorder and bloodshed on both sides to be sure, but far less of both than might have been expected, decided the character of the Republic. The National Assembly at Weimar in the early part of 1919 enacted the new Constitution and appointed Friedrich Ebert first president of the Republic. After the promulgation of the Constitution, August 11, 1919, he was elected, and served as president until February 28, 1925, when he died.

IN the ensuing election, all of the appreciably numerous parties presented candidates; among them Otto Braun, prime minister of Prussia, Social-Democrat; General Ludendorff, Nationalist; Wilhelm Marx, Catholic Center; Professor Willi Hellpach,[1] of Heidelberg, Democrat; Thälmann, Communist. None got the necessary clear majority, and a second election was required. This time he who got the most votes would win—a momentous possibility, especially as all withdrew except Thälmann, Marx and Ludendorff, hard-boiled militarist and protagonist of monarchy and the return of the Hohenzollern dynasty. Nobody could imagine what such a contest would bring forth, in the midst of the economic chaos produced by the inflation of the currency, the universal discontent, the profound dismay and humiliation still prevailing under the cloud of Versailles, the occupation of German territory by the victors in the War. It was not unlikely then that Germany might go Communist after all.

It was an anxious time for those who feared alike the recrudescence of monarchy and the real revolution which had been averted. Civil war stalked in the background, and final disruption of all familiar things and institutions. Thälmann and the Communists stood pat. All the moderates shivered in their boots; the ultra-Nationalists were divided in mind between Ludendorff, the ex-chief of staff, and the former grand admiral, von Tirpitz, at that time chairman of the party. Extreme Right against extreme Left, and nobody could guess which way Germany would go.

[1] See Dr. Hellpach's article, page 548 of this issue.

AND then they drafted von Hindenburg, as ultra-Right as anybody; of a noble family, of war-glory preeminently outstanding. And all unknowingly and unexpectedly he dealt the death-blow to monarchy and the Hohenzollerns, undermined his own party and saved the Republic, of which quite unconsciously he became not only the figurehead and symbol, but as well the chief among the pillars.

You will remember how his nomination startled the world; what a scandal it seemed that the chief of Germany's war heroes should, as it were, ascend the vacant throne. Obviously the old field-marshal would make short work of the nascent democracy, and presently hand the scepter back to his royal master! So much for the German professions of peaceful intent!

There was a story, afloat at the time, to the effect that before accepting the nomination Hindenburg made a pilgrimage to Doorn, and a speech like this:

"All-Highest, I am an old soldier, pledged to Your Majesty and your royal House by a great oath. I have come to beg you to release me from that oath; I find it my duty to act as president of the German Republic."

The story is not true; but it might well have been. The fact is that when the Kaiser resigned, he absolved all German officers from their oath to him. But Hindenburg's answer to those who urged him to run for the presidency was, "I cannot put myself in the position of usurping royalty."

"You will help the cause of royalty!" they said to him. And at last they convinced him. You could get Hindenburg to do almost anything if you could make him see it as a duty—that has been his life-time's training.

GREATLY one would wish to talk with the old field-marshal, man to man, and ask him how a man of his type and convictions could have brought himself to act as president of a republic. It couldn't be done; not only because that kind of interview is not within the dignities of that quasi-royal situation, but especially because Hindenburg would not have understood what it was all about. He is intellectually stolid, unimaginative, quite incapable of that kind of introspection. Probably the best he could do in the way of explaining his motive would be to say that *"Ordnung muss sein"*—"there must be order"—and that it was his duty. He is a very simple-hearted old man, intensely religious.

"I haven't a doubt," one of his close associates said, "that every night and morning of his life he says his prayers upon his knees."

He is a good deal of a recluse; still reads the ultra-conservative newspapers from which he derives political sustenance. From his point of view, radicalism in all its works and shades are of the devil direct. He has served under the monarchy of Prussia for more than sixty years.

It is probable that he did not realize in the least the nature and consequences of what he was doing when after repeated stern refusals he became convinced that he could best serve the cause of monarchy, to which his party was committed, by standing as candidate for the president of the Republic. It is quite certain that those who forced him to the consent realized it quite as little. To them he has been a most dismal disappointment. One of them said to me:

"We did ourselves in handsomely when we elected that old such-and-such. Why, do you know, he takes his oath of office seriously!"

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SO he does, and they found it out in short order. They organized a coalition of the most conservative groups, and appointed a committee to hold the Hindenburg leading-string. They composed statements in his name, and brought them to him as a matter of form.

"I will submit this to my chancellor," said the president.

"No need to do that," they demurred. "This has been agreed upon by the party organization."

Whereupon the old man blew up. One who saw him do it says that he banged his fist upon his desk and roared:

"Do you think I am to be a puppet? I did not want this office, but now that you have elected me to it you will remember that I am president, and to be treated accordingly!"

Something like that, anyway. The old field-marshal, working true to form. Perhaps they had not noticed that about the first thing he did was to continue as his own secretary and confidential attendant Meisner, the Socialist who in that same capacity had served Ebert.

It was a symptom of the fact that the whole people had miscalculated this old man. With perfect simplicity of intention he stood in the Reichstag on the twelfth of May, 1926, under the black-red-gold flag of the Republic, and with his hand in that of Loebe, the Socialist president of the Reichstag, took the oath of fidelity to the Constitution. It wrought a tremendous influence throughout Germany. People who had been hostile or wavering said:

"If the Republic is good enough for Hindenburg, it surely must be good enough for us. And if he doesn't mind the new flag, why should we?"

He even has made the thing fashionable. In Ebert's day, who of the *haut ton* would accept the invitation of a Socialist, a workingman, grotesque anachronism in the house of the highest representative of power? But now. . . . Let the von Hindenburg und Beneckendorff invite Prinz Henkel Donnersmarck of Silesia or Count Schaffgottsch of Saxony—whom you will of Germany's *élite*—to the German White House; they must come.

Photo by Dr. P. Wolff

Frankfort City's memorial to Friedrich Ebert on the wall of Old Paulskirche

POLITICALLY, it is of the essence of theory that the president is above all parties and outside of politics. His position is not unlike that of the king in Great Britain. He must select the chancellor from the party having the largest representation in the Reichstag; that is fixed by the result of the election. And the chancellor must make his cabinet as best he may out of the existing political situation. The president's term is for seven years, undisturbed by the ebb and flow of the partisan currents amidst which he stands. Hindenburg has shown himself both able and disposed to ignore those currents; to accept the verdict of the people with a kind of rugged composure and detachment which is very far from being mere stolidity. He is playing the game of the new Germany and its democracy.

Nevertheless he is a human being. His temper and opinions are what they are. His psychology is what it is. When decisions having a political character have fallen to him to make, his political instincts and general color, and those of his group of intimates, have been reflected in them—how could it be otherwise? He is a conservative, a Nationalist. Doubtless he is to this day a believer in hereditary monarchy; though I would wager that the subject does not keep him awake nights and that his private opinion of existing Hohenzollerns savors of *lèse-majesté!* He presents a notably fine figure of a man; embodying one of the striking factors in the restoration of Germany—loyalty and patriotism of an almost classic type; of those who, at the outset anyway, did not believe in the Republic but saw it as mere duty to serve their Germany in any way that was needed. *Ordnung muss sein!*

HE IS, physically, a mighty man; such as one imagines a Viking to have been. Considerably over six feet, and appropriately big of frame. Fierce-looking at first glance, but with kindly eyes under shaggy brows.

He used to hunt; but October, 1928, he passed his eightieth birthday, and now in the afternoon he takes a nap. He says he has a "bad knee;" but at the great review of the veterans of Tannenberg (the greatest of German victories on the Russian front) he stood almost immovable for five mortal hours. You should have seen him on the eleventh of August last, at the celebration of Constitution Day in Berlin, as an American who saw it described him in a letter to me:

> The patient crowd waited an hour until out of the portal of the big gray Reichstag building came a stout old customer in a high top-hat and Prince Albert coat, eased himself down a few steps—and then marched down the remainder of the broad flight. As rugged, as bursting with solid stuff as the huge statue of The Iron Chancellor out in front. And they cheered, and the republican flag waved over him, and over ten thousand other new Germans.

Hindenburg has a son and a daughter, and eight grandchildren. Six of them are girls, but only one—born to his son last summer—is of the male line, bearing his own name.

Elsewhere in this issue (page 554 *et sequ.*) one who was personally close to the old field-marshal as he faced the great dilemma writes vividly of the fashion in which he met it, with heroic greatness of character. He nears his end. The world will be poorer when he goes.

Even should he live the four years more to complete his seven-year term, his reelection will be more or less out of the question; he will be eighty-five years old. Then if not sooner will come in any event, in the choice of his successor, one of the great tests of the reality, soundness and virility of this new German democracy. Then we shall see whether Germany has and can somehow manage to select, either another Ebert or another Hindenburg.

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Greetings from Chancellor Müller

GERMANS of all parties will welcome the effort of The Survey to explain to the American people the Germany of today. Events of recent years may have left room for misunderstanding; but we confidently believe that the old friendship of such long standing is being restored, and that this good process is hastened by every honest measure designed to set forth fairly Germany's situation and fundamental intentions.

We are struggling against great problems and difficulties; some of them resulting from the Great War, some from economic developments and conflicts affecting the whole world; some from conditions peculiarly German. We have to move with patience and wisdom lest we imperil the very structure in which we live. We are applying all we have of courage, determination and confidence to the solution of these problems.

Leading as I do at present the German Government, it would be unsuitable for me to speak here exclusively as the representative of my own, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. The Cabinet of which I have the honor to be responsible head is made of men representing other parties also, all endeavouring to work for the common welfare. The Social-Democratic Party, which played a leading part in saving the Republic from destruction by extremists, is Socialist, as always it has been; but it is Democrat. Our desire and aspiration are to unite all well-meaning Germans in a true Democracy, which shall assure to all of our people social and economic well-being on the basis of "Unity, Right and Liberty." We desire to raise steadily the standard of living of the workers, recognizing the value of all classes of useful labor; to confirm and make effective for every individual the right and the opportunity to develop and to pursue his happiness to the utmost of his capacity; more than that, to help him to do so.

Our aspiration, like yours, is to upbuild our social institutions on the good foundations already laid, and to make of the New Germany a "government of the people, by the people and for the people."

Müller.

—By Herman Müller-Franken
Chancellor of the German Reich

Portraits by Johan Bull

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Stresemann Speaks for the Republic

THE German Republic asks nothing more or better than to be upon terms of complete and understanding friendship with its neighbours as well as with all the other civilized states of the world, and to play, to the limit of its ability, its part in the great tasks which confront Humanity.

We Germans understand only too well that things of the past, connected with the complicated historical heritage of this Europe of which it is our fate and our privilege to be the geographical core, have left accumulated problems and misunderstandings which only time and patience and the wisdom of well-meaning leadership can assuage. The psychology and concomitants of war —not only of the last great war but of many old ones—inevitably have produced not only actions afterwards deplored but misrepresentations both deliberate and inadvertent long surviving their time.

However, we are confident that in this respect time fights for us, and we try to be patient while disinterested and inexorable research among the documents and other materials of history brings forth the facts in their proportions and perspectives, sorts out the true and the false, and at the last will do justice. We shall be content with that justice; we have a right to ask and expect that justice. We are entitled to nothing more; likewise to nothing less.

Meanwhile our chief preoccupation is to rebuild our own house and to make it a fit dwelling and working-place for the German spirit. Our problems and burdens are heavy; with all we have of fortitude and determination we are facing them. We feel that some of them—deliberately I refrain from specifying them here—involve injustice to us, and add immensely not only to our difficulties but to the obstacles to harmonious progress of the world.

Nevertheless we are confident that the spirit which increasingly prevails among the nations, with the modifying effect of time, and the normal operation of such measures for international understanding and cooperation as the League of Nations, the Locarno Agreements, and, in addition to those, the general acceptance of the proposal for the renunciation of war, submitted to the nations by Secretary Kellogg and growing out of his interchanges with M. Briand, will help to remove or to materially modify those injustices and those obstacles. To the effective operation of those instrumentalities and in the spirit which actuates them we have given, and shall continue to give, our most sincere and unselfish cooperation.

We rejoice in the many indications that the nations of the world are thinking less about the past and more about the future, and desire to find better ways of intercourse than those which have so long prevailed. These indications greatly encourage us as we bend to our mighty tasks, and help us to feel, as we desire to be, not only welcome but indispensable as participants in the work of building a real fellowship of all Humanity.

Stresemann

—By Gustav Stresemann, Foreign Minister of the German Reich

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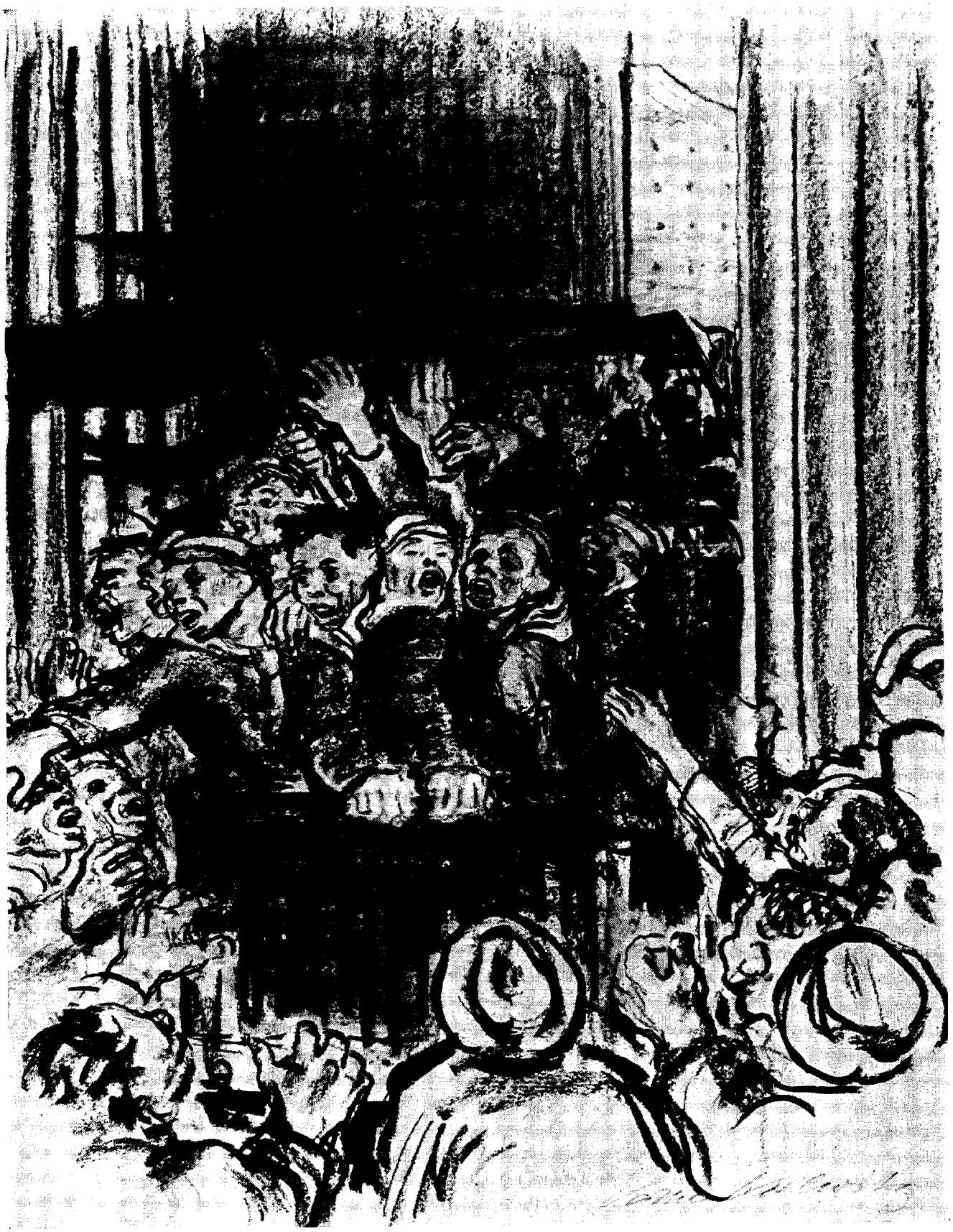

BRANDENBURGER GATE IS OPEN!

Käthe Kollwitz typifies the revolution which opened it: Her design for the Memorial Leaf of the Social-Democratic Party of Leipzig

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Woodcut by Richard Bennett

Through the Brandenburger Tor

By JOHN PALMER GAVIT

SYMBOL alike of old Germany and new, the Brandenburger Tor—between Unter den Linden and the Tiergarten; last surviving of Berlin's old city gates—is open now to all. Before the War, only the Kaiser and such could pass through the central portal—it cost one American a fifteen-dollar fine to drive his car through it at two o'clock one reckless morning! Now, any old bus passes at will.

Above, Richard Bennett's woodcut silhouettes the great gateway against a flaming sky; on the opposite page Käthe Kollwitz, venerable artist of the German proletariat, with her bus-load of revolting soldiers and sailors roaring through that forbidden portal, typifies the revolution which opened it to all the people. In the columns which follow, the present writer, cordially and candidly welcomed through this and other open doorways of Germany, makes report of his impressions.

TO COME straight to the point uppermost in most American minds: What I saw in Germany is *a democratic republic in the making;* still quivering with the shock and turmoil of its initiation ten years ago under stupendous difficulties both from within and from without. A commonwealth of states not unlike our own but with essential differences; under the written Constitution adopted by a National Assembly at Weimar in Thüringia and promulgated August 11, 1919—though the Republic dates actually from that momentous ninth of November, 1918, when the old state monarchies and the imperial throne with them fell, as I believe, forever.

A republic essentially middle-class, *bourgeois*, like ours, as contrasted with the Russian system; but with its political center of gravity and its probable tendencies far more to the Left (that is, more radical) than ours, or those of Great Britain and France. The Constitution has even more than ours the defects of haste and compromise, and has not yet been subject as has ours to the trial and modification of time and increasing national self-confidence under unprecedented freedom. The Germans have not had long experience with self-government.

STILL prevails in some quarters, naturally enough, the suspicion that the Hohenzollern may "come back;" that at any moment a political overturn might welcome Wilhelm der Zweite "home" from his exile under Dutch surveillance at Doorn; or, that failing, that the Crown Prince might slip back under the crown of Prussia—even into the vacant imperial kaisership which went with it; from both of which ten years ago he and his royal father were glad enough to flee with skins whole.

Well, George V of Great Britain is in a manner of speaking lineal heir to any surviving right, title or interest of his ancestor, George III, in the United States of America. To be sure, that George a century-and-a-half ago formally abjured all those titles and emoluments—but, so in 1918 did the Hohenzollern for themselves, their heirs and assigns forever, abjure these German thrones! There are lots of people in Germany who would have them and their autocracy back if they could; but I should say that George V of Great Britain is just about as likely to "come back" as ruler of Bunker Hill and Yorktown, as any Hohenzollern is to return to any sort of political power in Germany.

In his Preussisches Staatsrecht half a century ago, Schulze described the powers of the king of Prussia as not being an arbitrary aggregate of powers delegated to him by any constitution, but as the

> . . . whole and undivided power of the state in all its plentitude. It would, therefore, be contrary to the nature of the monarch-

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ical constitutional law of Germany to enumerate all individual powers of the king, or to speak of royal prerogative. . . . His sovereign right embraces, on the contrary, all branches of the government. Everything which is decided or carried out in the state takes place in the name of the king. *He is the personified power of the state.*[1]

BY the device of heavily overweighting the power of the ruling classes in Prussia and in the German Bundesrat (the imperial senate), the king of Prussia, who *ex-officio* has been since 1871 hereditary German emperor, substantially carried over to the kaisership these autocratic powers. True, during and even previous to the World War, the Kaiser and his associates saw the inevitable, and even in the event of German victory might—probably would—have vouchsafed a more democratic constitution. That had been done before, and the string pulled in again subsequently under propitious circumstances; but in view of the present German trend and temper, such tactics hardly could have been repeated.

The Hohenzollern are not taken seriously by any considerable portion of the German people. In Prussia, where all their kingly rights were centered, they are regarded with a kind of levity. The kindest thing I heard about the ex-Kaiser in Berlin or elsewhere in North Germany was that "he always was more or less crazy." Very many Germans of all classes hold him and his group ultimately

[1] Quoted by James Harvey Robinson in Annals of the American Academy of Political Science, September, 1894; vol. V, No. 2.

Reichstagswahl **Wahlkreis Berlin**

Stimmzettel für Männer

1	**Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands** Crispien — Heimann — Frau Bohm-Schuch — Aufhäuser	1	◯
2	**Deutschnationale Volkspartei** Lauerenz — Berndt — Hampe — Frau Scheibel	2	◯
3	**Deutsche Zentrumspartei** Schönborn — Dr. Sonnenschein — Frau Hufung — Dr. Adlee	3	◯
4	**Deutsche Volkspartei** von Raumer — Dr. Klinckhard — Frau Mühlam-Werther — Brüggemann	4	◯
5	**Kommunistische Partei** Pieck — Torgler — Frl. Arendsee — Hein	5	◯
6	**Deutsche Demokratische Partei** Koch-Weser — Könke — Frau Dr. von Hülsen geb. Reiche — Dr. Laubmann	6	◯
6a	**Volksrecht-Partei (Reichspart. f. Volksrecht u. Aufwertung R.A.G.)** Uhlberg — Steinborn	6a	◯
8	**Linke Kommunisten** Urbahns — Scholem — Bartels — Freyer	8	◯
9	**Reichspartei des deutschen Mittelstandes (Wirtschaftspartei)** Mollath — Strauß — Drewitz — Kirscher	9	◯
10	**Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (Hitler-Bewegung)** Dr. Goebbels — Holtz — Kube — Engel	10	◯
12	**Völkisch-Nationaler Block** Dr. Doehring — Böckler — Zemke — Bielicke	12	◯
15	**Christlich-nationale Bauern- und Landvolkpartei** Martin — Klinke — Frohberg — Dr. Landmann	15	◯
15a	**Christlich-nationale Mittelstandspartei** Brodersen — Stüber — Gaudig	15a	◯
15b	**Deutsch-Hannoversche Partei** Nolte — Alpers	15b	◯
16	**Volksrecht-Partei (Reichspartei für Volksrecht und Aufwertung)** D. Dr. Graf Posadowsky-Wehner — Schmidt — Schwarz — Frl. Hirschmann	16	◯
17	**Deutsche Haus- und Grundbesitzer-Partei** Stoegemann — Böhme — Antonius	17	◯
18	**Reichspartei für Handwerk, Handel und Gewerbe** Stellmacher — Honnette — Rauscher — Seefeldt	18	◯
19	**Christlich-Soziale Reichspartei** Heller — Dr. Ehlen — Hempel — Wahsich	19	◯
20	**Volksblock der Inflationsgeschädigten (Allgemeine Volkspartei)** Roll — Gau — Busch — Winzler	20	◯
21	**Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands** Liebknecht — Wiegmann — Loose — Schmitt	21	◯
22	**Polnische Volkspartei** Dr. Domanski — Bozewski — Dr. Karzmarek — Ledwolorz	22	◯
23	**Deutscher Reichsblock der Geschädigten** Ihlenburg — Beer — Schendel — von Rothl	23	◯
24	**Deutsch-Soziale Partei (Richard Kunze)** Kunze — v. Raven — Hans — Frau Engelbrecht	24	◯
25	**Alte Sozialdemokratische Partei** Winnig — Kübler — Henin — Dr. Haeckel	25	◯

1928 *ballot for the Reichstag*

responsible for the loss if not the beginnings of the War and the resulting wreckage. And from the popular point of view he ruined himself by his second marriage—the Empress was greatly beloved by the mass of the people. He is despised also for his flight to Holland; somewhat unjustly so, because that was virtually compelled by Hindenburg and other officers of the general staff. An eye-witness[2] of that last scene at great headquarters quotes General Gröner, successor of Ludendorff as chief of the general staff and now the German minister of defense, as saying to the Kaiser on that fateful ninth of November:

"The army will return home peacefully and in orderly fashion under the command of its generals; but not under the leadership of Your Majesty."

An old sergeant of artillery was quoted to me by one of his officers:

"He ran away, to safety! Had I been emperor, nothing could have dislodged me from my duty to die if need be at the head of my army."

The Crown Prince, who lives at Oels in Silesia, hangs around Berlin to some extent, and plays at golf on the beautiful Wannsee course; but in any political sense nobody pays any attention to him. He drives about Berlin in his "snappy" roadster, greedily collecting salutes from such policemen as are willing to recognize him, and glad of the wag of any yellow dog's tail. One of the best jokes of Berlin was his "horning in" to the parade in honor of the visiting king of Afghanistan, basking in the notice of the crowds who mostly laughed at him.

THE only hope the monarchy had, whether for Hohenzollern or anybody else—and there isn't anybody else with the possible but remote exception of Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria—was in a minority of the Nationalist Party, and that of late has been more or less on the rocks. Anyway its monarchist element is. The "legitimist" crowd in Prussia is about as important at present as the "royalist" crowd in France, struggling to keep alive a tradition without real vitality.

Last summer Walter Lambach, who in the Reichstag represents the conservative "white collar" group of government employes, published in the Nationalist weekly, Politische Wochenschrift, an article in which he declared that the election of Hindenburg was the death-blow of monarchy in Germany. Said he:

> Our youth spurns the Nationalists because they refuse to restore hereditary monarchy in this world of work and sport. Kings and kaisers are, for the new generation, neither sacred nor worshipful persons. For them they are figures only for the film and stage.

Lambach concluded that it was time for the Nationalist Party to drop the monarchist plank from its platform and wake up to its duty to be a conservative party in a frankly acknowledged republic.

The article created a tremendous sensation both within and outside of the Nationalist Party. It evoked furious protest from the die-hards, but generally it was recognized as merely registering the facts, and within a short time Count Westarp, perhaps the outstanding sane pro-monarchist of Germany, resigned as leader of the party organization and of its representation in the Reichstag.

So it probably was no ephemeral shift of politics when last May the Nationalists lost thirty-seven seats in the

[2] Lieut.-Col. Alfred Niemann, formerly of the German General Staff, in Neue Freie Presse, Vienna. (Translated in The Living Age, July, 1928.)

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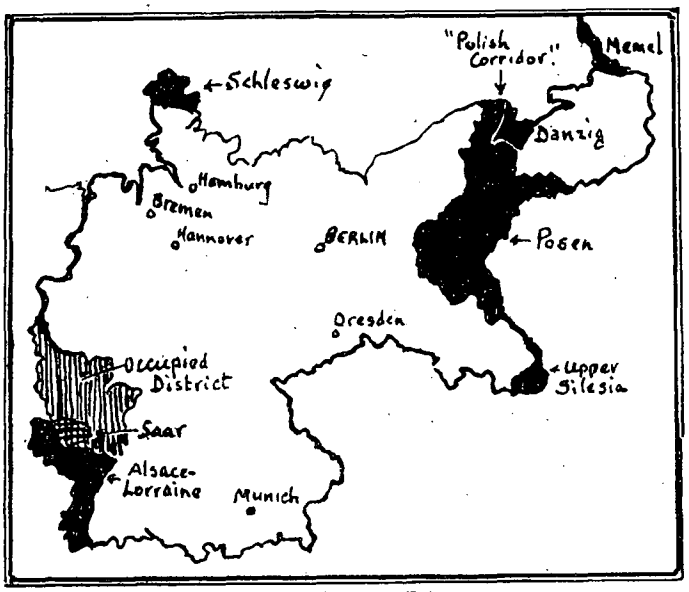


Adapted from Deutschland Jahrbuch, 1927, Külz

What the War did to Germany: The black shows formerly German territory lost by the Peace Treaty

Reichstag. That meant a loss of more than two million votes, and all of them moved toward the Left.

THIS is not to dismiss lightly the possibility of reaction later on. While return to monarchism seems at present most improbable, there is an aggressive Fascist movement, and into its hands play both die-hard dissatisfaction and a considerable political apathy on the part of liberals unsatisfied with the rate of progress; also the German habit of obedience to superiors. In the advanced age of President Hindenburg, making his reelection almost unthinkable, and the uncertainty as to what might happen in the event of his death, slumbers a menace to the present order about which sober-minded Germans of all groups do not like to talk or even to think.

The president of the Reich is chosen directly by popular vote for a term of seven years and is eligible for reelection; but his executive powers and functions are much less commanding than those of the president of the United States. Save for his personal influence and prestige he is more such a figurehead as the King of England. The direct control of government resides in a cabinet subject as generally elsewhere in Europe to the support of a majority in the Reichstag and so to overthrow almost at a moment's notice. At any time an election might altogether change its political complexion.

BUT there abides in the Constitution a weapon which in the hands of an unscrupulous president with a docile cabinet, or an unscrupulous chancellor dominating a weak president, might permit a *coup d'état* with epochal consequences. In the drafting of the Constitution of Weimar, great care was taken to keep the ultimate power in the hands of the Reichstag, itself always answerable directly to the people. There was also, however, fear of secession movements of one kind or another, as well as of attempted revolution from either Right or Left. Double-edged is Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution:

Section 1.—If a state does not discharge the duties imposed upon it by the Constitution or the laws of the Reich, the president may compel it to do so by means of the armed forces.

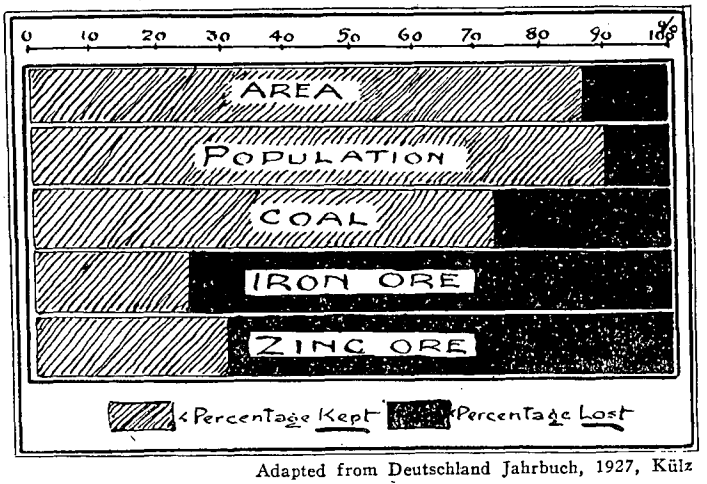
Section 2.—The president of the Reich may, if public safety and order be disturbed or seriously endangered, take the measures needed to restore public safety and order, and, if need be, proceed with the assistance of the armed forces. For this purpose he may temporarily declare invalid, wholly or partly, the fundamental rights established by Articles 114, 115, etc.

Opportunity enough for the "man-on-horseback." You have to go no further than Italy for example of what a strong man may do once he is able to get the whip in hand and suspend the primary guarantees. History is full of instances of usurpations with well-justified beginnings. All would depend upon the kind and results of compliance with the plain intent of—

Section 3.—The president of the Reich must promptly inform the Reichstag of all measures taken under sections 1 and 2 of this Article. If the Reichstag so demands, the measures must be discontinued.

At the present moment, nobody with whom I talked could name a possible German Mussolini; all the tendencies seem in the opposite direction. Even as these words are written, a demand is reported, on the part especially, of the *Stahlhelm* (Steel Helmets), the mostly Nationalist organization of veterans of the War, for a popular referendum in favor of a change back to monarchy. A sufficient support seems most unlikely even to secure such a referendum. The Democratic Party is said to have forbidden any member of the party to belong to the *Stahlhelm*. Nothing that I know of justifies regarding this movement as anything but a gesture. An overturn in the opposite direction seems much more possible, and that lies in the economic rather than in the political field; in the question of revolt against living conditions. Neither kind of revolt seems to me a present probability.

CONSIDERING all the possibilities involved in the original cataclysm, the readjustments, some of them profound, going to the roots of political and social life, have been and are being made with amazing calm and quiet. After all, the psychology of a people, as of an individual, is a continuing thing. These are the same Germans who carried on before; their new adventure has about it the same appearance of self-possession, the same instinct for industry, thrift, orderliness in all respects that characterized them formerly. Sustained uproar on any subject would be distasteful to Germans of all ordinary types.



Adapted from Deutschland Jahrbuch, 1927, Külz

What the War did to Germany in the matter of losses of area and some essential raw materials

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IT is misleading to compare the mechanics and mathematics of German politics with American; in few respects do they resemble each other. No such comparison will be attempted here; nor any description of the new German governmental system. Suffice it for present purposes to remember that every seat in the Reichstag represents sixty thousand votes, scraped together over all Germany. There are no geographical districts; states as such are not represented in the Reichstag. The vote one casts is not for individuals but for a party as such, and the party makes up the list of candidates. The ballot may not, probably will not, contain the names of all the nominees.

Times Wide World Photo, Berlin

DEGREED BY HEIDELBERG

Foreign Minister Stresemann and American Ambassador Schurman, with the dean, Professor Andreas, and Rector Professor Dibelius

This system tends to give seats in the national parliament to groups nationally insignificant, because a seat goes to any "party" which by hook or crook, out of byways and hedges anywhere and altogether, between Holstein and Silesia, between the Lithuanian border of East Prussia and the Swiss threshold at Basle, can garner the necessary sixty thousand votes. Two or more little hit-or-miss parties never heard of before, can even combine their votes to make sixty thousand, and so get a seat in the Reichstag. This tends on the one hand to exaggerate the importance of local and sporadic agitations, and on the other to the formation of temporary or permanent blocs with great power of obstruction. Yes, much more so than in the Congress of the United States. And what is more important, especially at such a time as this when everything hangs upon continuity of program and constructive effort, a temporarily excited state of public feeling can overthrow a government overnight. Every ministry is at the mercy of any combination, however ephemeral, constituting a majority.

True, parliamentary attitudes are governed by party discipline; individual political heresy in action is rare. Nevertheless there is considerable importance in the character of the personnel, even though tabulations on this subject are less significant than they would be with reference to an American legislative body, and inferences from them must be made with caution.

REMEMBERING this, look first at the political complexion of the present Reichstag, elected last May, and reconvening after the summer recess as these pages go to press. Only the more important German parties are listed, and in parenthesis is shown the representation of the same in the previous Reichstag:

Social-Democrats	152	(131)
Nationalists	73	(110)
Catholic Center	62	(68)
Communists	54	(45)
People's (Liberal-Right)	45	(51)
Democrat (Liberal-Left)	25	(32)
Economic Union (Wirtschaftspartei)	23	(21)
Bavarian People's	16	(19)

There are several other parties of more or less significance; at least seventeen had tickets in the field last May. These are the most important. There are 490 members in the present Reichstag, the total membership depending always on the number of complete units of sixty thousand votes.

The tremendous dominance of Prussia and North Germany as contrasted with the South, Bavaria, Baden and Württemburg, is apparent in the geographical distribution, which is roughly commensurate with the relative area and population of the states respectively:

Prussians and North Germans	341	(69.5%)
Bavarians	53	(10.8%)
Saxons	35	(7.1%)
Badischer	17	(3.5%)
Württemburger	15	(3.1%)
Thuringians	13	(2.7%)
Hamburger	9	(1.8%)
Hessians	7	(1.5%)

Twist it another way, and consider the psychology of approach to the kind of problems with which Germany has to wrestle; as regards, for example, a measure to restrict the powers of the bureaucracy, or running counter to demands of labor:

Public officials	102
Trade-union representatives	71
Laborers	34
Editors and publishers	32
Manufacturers, directors, etc.	27
Clerks	26
Teachers	25
Writers	25
Farmers	24
Lawyers	17
Party officials	15
Housewives	10
Landowners	8
Physicians	4

Look at the four farmers and eight landowners, remember that the revival and reorganization of agriculture is one of the major and most critical problems of Germany, and then note the division as to city and rural representation:

Town	420	(85.7%)
Country	90	(14.3%)

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IT APPEARS to me a misnomer, misleading in its impression upon outsiders, to apply the word "socialist" indiscriminately—as it usually is applied—to the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. Most of the Social-Democrats—in and out of public office—whom I met, struck me as "socialistic" only in the loose and ill-informed sense in which the word (like the words "bolshevik," "red," and similar appellations) is applied in the United States to anybody or proposal intending changes in the economic status quo. On the whole, they and their party remind me very much of the Roosevelt Progressives. Judged by the orthodox Marxian standards, the bulk of the German Social-Democrats hardly would pass muster as anything but more or less mildly radical liberals. The present chancellor, Herman Müller, when I raised this point in conversation with him, was careful to remind me of the very name of his party—that while it was indeed *socialist,* it was by definition also *democratic.* He and others, including foremost leaders of some of the labor organizations, declared emphatically their belief that were they living now Bebel and Ferdinand Lasalle—yes, and Marx himself (about whom I reserved my doubts)—would be of their party and supporters of the present democratic Republic as distinguished from any "dictatorship of the proletariat."

THE contrast appears clearly in the sleepless animosity betwen the so-called Socialists and the Communists. Their points of view, programs, tactics and policy are poles apart. The Communists have little more use for the Social-Democrats and the Republic as it stands than for the Nationalists or the monarchy itself. They regard the Social-Democrats, especially Ebert and his immediate associates in the party, as having betrayed the revolution into the hands of Big Business and the bourgeoisie in general—not to mention the Allies, victors in the War. Müller signed the Treaty of Versailles. Toward Müller and the labor leaders who are playing on friendly terms with the government and the employers, they feel as the radicals in the United States felt toward Roosevelt and Sam Gompers. Upon the occasion last summer when Müller made announcement of the policies of his new cabinet, the Communists adorned his desk with a specimen of soft-soap as symbol and measure of his revolutionary virility! They never forget that the "Majority Socialists" not only supported the imperial government in the War which they themselves unfailingly opposed, but in the chaotic days following the collapse of that government, led in the ruthless suppression of the Communists. They know that in all human probability, in any similar circumstances, they would do the same again. The Communists' hatred of these "soft-soap Socialists" is implacable as they fight on for a soviet regime, side-by-side with that of Russia.

DESPITE this war between the two wings of the radical element, and misleading as it is to group them together as if they were parts of one movement, nevertheless their joint strength has one synthetic significance—it is *a labor vote,* and together with elements in the other parties not distinguishable in voting-statistics, it foots up into a potentiality of at least one-half of the voting strength of Germany. In the May elections about 30,000,000 votes were cast, electing 490 members of the Reichstag. Of this total, Social-Democratic and Communist votes were in round numbers:

Social-Democrats (152 seats)	9,120,000
Communists (54 seats)	3,240,000
Together, about	12,364,000

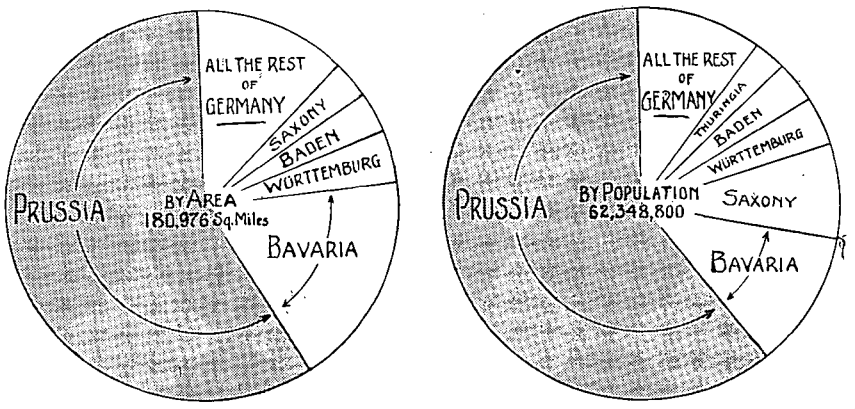
Approximately 42 per cent. Add to this those of other parties rebellious against unemployment, dissatisfied with the government's dealings internationally, in connection with reparations, evacuation of the Rhineland, or whatnot, and the emergence at any moment of a clear majority in support of radical measures becomes a real possibility.

ON the other hand, the Communist strength may be over-estimated. I was told, and am inclined to believe, that the irreducible core of Communist membership in Germany does not exceed 60,000, or at the outside 100,000; that the chief nucleus of strength is in Berlin and two or three of the great industrial and mining districts. It was asserted also that the political showing would dwindle sharply but for steady financial support from Moscow. That is conjecture, about which my opinion would be of little value. Be that as it may, the vote in an election is something to go on. That the Communist strength is formidable appears in the fact that in the presidential election of 1925, when Hindenburg received 14,655,000 and Marx 13,751,000, Thälmann, Communist, polled 1,931,000. No Social-Democrat ran in that election; it is impossible to say what became of the vote of that party. Conditions were very different, vastly more upset, then than now. The fact remains, however, that last May the Communist poll was nearly three-and-a-quarter millions—again an increase of nearly 68 per cent.

ANYWAY, speculate as we may upon the ultimate significance of these figures—even to the point of accepting the inference of Lincoln Eyre, late correspondent of the New York Times at Berlin, that Germany exceeds Russia in the number of voters believing in violent overthrow of the capitalist government and regime—it appears clear that a total of nearly or quite 50 per cent of the German electorate would oppose any movement backward, toward monarchy, toward Fascism, toward any substantial curtailment of what the Left has won; that, as was said above, the political axis of the new republic is considerably toward the Left. It is toward the Left that Germany is looking with concern in

(*Cont. on page* 614)

The Predominance of Prussia



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From LEFT *to* RIGHT *of the* GERMAN PARTIES

Communist

Social-Democrat

Two panels from the International Journalistic Exposition at Cologne. At the left, posters of the war period (1914-19); at the right, appeals to the voters under the Republic. The Pressa (see Survey Graphic for December, 1928) exhibited political posters typical of epochs ranging back for a hundred years

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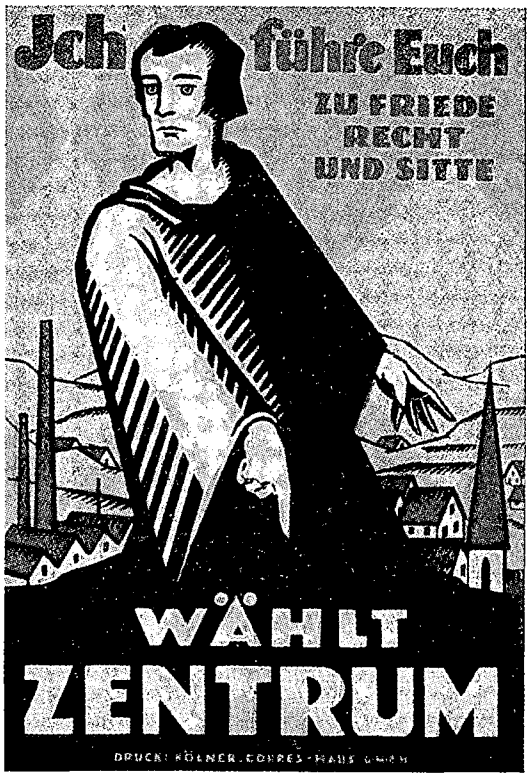
POSTERS *in the* PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN: 1925



Catholic Center

People's Party

Lend Us Your Eyes!

CAMPAIGN posters play a conspicuous part in German elections, as they do in those of other countries in Europe—France especially. In the great Pressa exposition at Cologne last summer there was a notable display; part of it is shown in the lower half of the opposite page.

The larger ones, on both pages, are typical of the appeals made to the electorate of Germany by the greater parties. They show well how the resources of graphic art are drawn upon to incite and influence the increasingly self-conscious new rulers of the country—men and women.

It is of great importance, however, to remember that these are posters used several years ago and reflecting states of feeling prevailing at that time upon subjects then in controversy. Even the Nationalist Party since then has vastly modified its attitude toward Locarno! This selection has been made from a great number only to illustrate the sort of thing that covers the German hoardings at election-time.

Democratic Party

Nationalist

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Hazards of the Democracy

By WILLI HELLPACH

Member of the Reichstag and of the Faculty of the University of Heidelberg

A NATIONAL constitution needs time to be fully accepted. It took the French people more than eighty years to settle down to their parliamentary republic—twice during that time they have experimented with royalism, twice with Caesarism. Today the vast majority desire only their republic; France has become one of the strongest ramparts against Fascism. Considering that the German Constitution is only nine years old, the degree in which the people have taken it to heart is highly satisfactory. All attempts to upset it have failed, miserably. Both in 1920 and in 1923, only an insignificant number took part in any "Putsch."

ONLY two choices were open to Germany in the winter of 1918-1919: to establish an orderly democracy under constitutional law, or to throw herself into the arms of bolshevism. Had the latter choice been taken, the German nation in all probability would have perished; not to mention the misery of such a revolution for a highly civilized people. It is to the lasting credit of the Social-Democratic leader, Friedrich Ebert, that, against heavy opposition in his own Socialist camp, he chose the path of constitutional democracy. He found an excellent helper in the Democratic professor, Dr. Hugo Preuss, who, more than any other, deserves to be called "the father of the Constitution."

Of far-reaching importance it is that after a brief period of hesitation, the large Catholic Party, known as the "Center," accepted the new situation and joined forces with the liberals and the social democracy. Because of their joint responsibility for what was effected at Weimar, these three parties are still called the "Weimar Parties;" their bloc in the various legislatures the "Weimar Coalition." But it must not be forgotten that during the actual deliberations of the National Assembly at Weimar many participated loyally and effectively who belonged to the political "Right" —not yet reconciled to the new situation; among them some learned members of the liberal People's Party, led by Dr. Stresemann.

THERE was need for haste. The danger of social revolution was still imminent; the Peace of Versailles confronted the whole people with yet another trial. In June, 1919, there were even moderate and reasonable people in Germany who thought it might be better to capitulate to the Russian revolution than to accept such a peace!

Within the short space of six months the Constitution was written—and saved the nation. Inevitably foreign examples contributed largely. The constitutions not only of Switzerland, the United States, England and France, but of some of the British dominions, were studied. Thus the Constitution of Germany became a syncretic structure—a fusion of diverse principles. More completely than any other such instrument, and in more various forms, it represents the ideal democracy; a balance of all democratic theories. For example, while as in England and France the cabinet is subject to the approval of parliament, the president is almost as independent of it as the president of the United States. Suffrage is as liberal as that of Switzerland; the president is elected by direct popular vote. The government is thus a mixture of direct and delegated power. Perhaps it has the fault of over-elaboration—when so much detail is fixed in the fundamental law, political life is apt to stagnate; it is a serious matter to rescind laws which are part of the Constitution.

GERMANY must learn to live with the Constitution, not merely to possess it. The greatest danger of our inner political life is that the people might again fall back into that political indifference acquired as a habit in the great days of Bismarck. A political genius always is a gift of doubtful value for a people: The masses come to believe that their interests are well protected by the great man at the head of the state. But when that genius disappears, there is rarely a worthy successor. After having permitted their illustrious chancellor to pursue his masterful course for thirty years, the German people, after 1890, permitted their emperor William II to play a devastating political game. What might not happen if the German people were again to fall back into that lethargy? In a people which for more than a thousand years has always been governed by individual dynasts or small oligarchies, the political sense can awaken but slowly and might easily fall asleep again. If that should happen, Fascism would probably not arise in Germany—not a dictatorship. Much more probably German democracy would then become transformed into a bureaucracy, government by officialdom.

PUBLIC office-holders in Germany are not elected by direct vote. A proposal to adopt this Swiss precedent was declined in 1919; the traditional principle under which the official is regarded as the member of a distinct profession —once appointed to office, an official for life—was retained. Such a professional officialdom has great advantages over an elected one, and it exercises large powers. While ministers and administrations rapidly follow each other, the official remains at his post for decades. In this way he acquires superior knowledge of the business of his department. The new minister easily comes to depend upon these officials; the administration and the legislature tend to engage in a mere ritual, while the real decisions behind the scenes are made by the permanent officials. The parliament writes laws into the statute book; so far so good; but even today it is the bureaucracy that decides how the law is to be carried into effect. And the people's most intimate contact with the state, after all, is not in the enactment of the laws, but through their execution and enforcement. Germany, and especially its largest constituent state, Prussia,

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has become great under this regime of the permanent officials. The German people like to confide their affairs—many of their affairs—to public administrators. There is real danger, therefore, that gradually, by invisible degrees, the German democracy will become transformed into a bureaucracy, in which the power of the officials will be even greater than under the monarchy.

WHY do I call this a danger? Because it would be disastrous to the country's political growth. In the next few decades Germany will have to solve many difficult problems. The German population will continue to increase in spite of narrow geographical boundaries. Germany's geographical situation, surrounded as it is by great powers, is unfavorable compared with that of Great Britain or of the United States, which confers upon these countries a much greater freedom of action. Unless it were willing to experiment with violent forms of territorial expansion, Germany will have to provide its large population with economic satisfactions through resourceful domestic political measures; and in the same way, it will have to satisfy a legitimate demand for world prestige by an equally resourceful foreign policy.

Permanent officials rarely are good politicians. They are men of executive ability; imaginativeness and intuition are not their strong points. It will, on the other hand, require a full quorum of good politicians for Germany to solve the problems confronting her. A bureau-democracy would fail to fulfill these tasks; while concerned with the maintenance of order and with competent service in the administrative departments, it might at the same time leave the people helpless in the face of the most serious political irritations, both from within Germany and from without.

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PROFESSOR DR. WILLI HELLPACH

not only is distinguished among German University leaders, but is outstanding in German politics. In 1924 he was president of the State of Baden, and in the first election of 1925 was a candidate for president of the Republic

HOW may Germany escape this danger? How may German democracy become a living thing, a permanent and true expression of the people's spirit? It is important to inquire how the younger generation in Germany answers this question. Today, Germany is dominated politically by men born around 1875 to 1880, that is, about fifty years old. Rarely has a country been ruled so nearly exclusively by men of that age-group. The reason for this lies, of course, chiefly in the War. Below the age of fifty there is a deep gash in the age-composition of the male population; by none older than about twenty-five years is that new generation represented which will succeed the men now fifty. What do they think, these young men of twenty-five, of twenty—yes, those of fifteen; for, since those who are twenty have the right to vote, it is a serious question what they think who are now fifteen. To answer this question is not easy. Youth everywhere is in ferment. At least in the old Occident, in Europe, the terrible events of the War seem to have given a new direction to world history; and this is, for the most part, felt by the young people.

CLEARLY, a section of European youth, not excluding Germany, is definitely anti-democratic in sentiment. Another section, the young manual workers, minor officials and office workers—in short, the poor—are dissatisfied with the democracy of today. Many of the young workers confess to Communism. But a much larger proportion of the young people in the working population want to preserve democracy—a democracy, be it understood, that must be more fully embodied in every phase of life. Such young people, in their conference resolutions will say, for example: "Our democratic Republic must become a social Republic." By this they do not necessarily mean a Socialistic republic, but they are thinking of a republic which in some way will iron out the present class differences and the differences between wealth and poverty, which will provide the poor with better opportunities of advance. They fear that a merely formal democracy may in reality become a plutocracy in which freedom will become the possession of the rich, and their tool for imposing unfreedom upon the poor. This movement of attack by young people upon the danger of plutocratic developments ander the guise of democracy is very strong and gives all of the political parties a good deal of trouble; for it appears even in the ranks of the Right, among the German Nationalists, and also among the Catholics in the Center. Exactly how these young people visualize their social republic is not clear; but in the course of time no doubt a more intelligible program will emerge.

Another young group desires to get rid of all the political parties that now exist, seeing in them the main cause of all that is wrong. This program is represented more especially in the Young German Order—a fraternity modelled in its romantic rites after the old German Order which originated in the middle ages at the time of the Crusades and later conquered those provinces which in course of time became Prussia. In spite of these historical associations, the Young German Order pursues very practical political objects. It is strongly anti-bolshevistic and envisages a state structure not unlike the one which that greatest of German domestic statesmen in the nineteenth century, Freiherr von Stein, had before him as his working ideal. That state is to be a real people's state, but not a democracy and, above all, not a state ruled by party majori-

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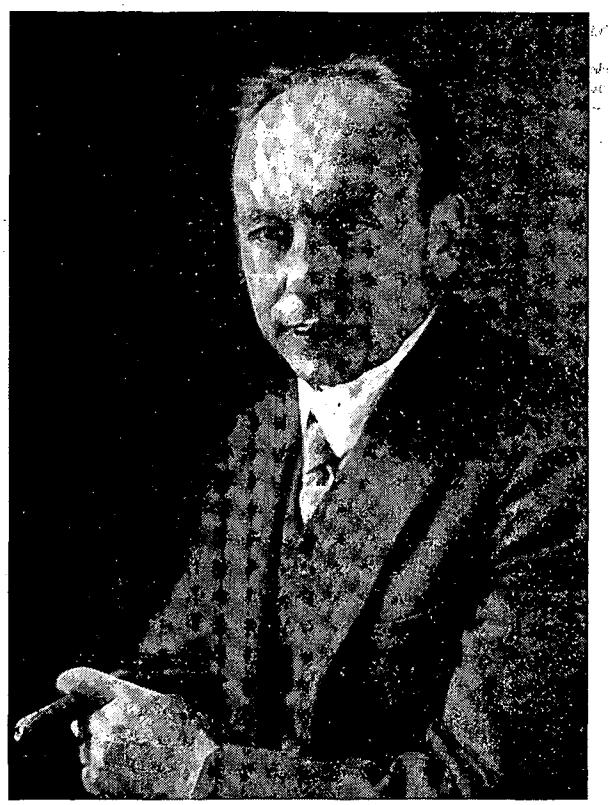
ties. This group of young people thus combats what they call "partyism." So far the course of reasoning is anything but clear, and the practical politics of the group are not as yet very noticeable.

It would seem, all things considered, that the fifty-year-olds will for some time to come still have to take care of the business of governing the German nation, the youth of the land has still to go to the school of reality.

IN some such way, incidentally, Freiherr von Stein also recognizes the opportunity of progress. He happened to be strongly influenced by the pedagog Pestalozzi, and looked upon the transformation of Germany into a people's state (as against the absolutism that reigned in his time) as a slow process of national education—a process which would require a period of several generations. In every democracy, a popular sense of the values involved must arise before it can be considered firmly established. The youth of the schools must be won for a new attitude toward the state; the task is largely one of creating new ethical mind-patterns: Every citizen must be sensitized to his share of responsibility for the state. Above all, there is yet to be conquered what remains of the feeling that one caste or other is of special importance. In no way must the representatives of economic power be permitted to take the place of the old nobility. None of the various branches of organized youth would tolerate such a development. A rule by the representatives of the metal industries or of high finance under the forms of a democratic constitution is not one which the younger generation in Germany will permit. If any of these interests were to make the attempt, revolution would be sure to break out in republican Germany.

BUT we believe that the German democracy can grow in vitality if other nations do not render such a development impossible. In foreign countries these facts should be remembered: Under William II Germany pursued a wrong policy; but economically it advanced with giant strides—all the people were better off than before; we had a prosperity such as exists today only in the United States. The sciences and arts flourished; not at any time in a century and a half was there an intellectual advance comparable with that in the decade between 1890 and 1900. The Germans know that, after a lost war, they can rise again but slowly and through hard work. They are one of the most industrious and optimistic peoples in the world; they are willing to work, but only if they actually will get themselves out of the morass. If the Germans should discover that other world powers make it impossible for them to recover through their labor, that they must expect to work and live only for other nations, that Germany is to be kept down at any price—in that case disaster would set in. Such a fate none of our younger generation would quietly accept. If any one desires to keep Germany permanently unfree, weak and under guardianship, he most certainly sponsors a German revolution. And if a people of this strength and these numbers should throw itself into a social revolution, the whole of Europe would be drawn into the abyss.

This prospect is not fantastic; the world must realize its possibility. For the rest of the world can help to prevent that terrible eventuality from coming to pass; it can help Germany to grow under its democratic Constitution into a state genuinely and permanently ruled for and by the people—a land of happiness for every one. Our younger generation desires no fresh wars and does not prepare for them. On the contrary, a large section of it is pacifist in sentiment and works for peaceful international cooperation. No group in the whole world could more sincerely or more seriously sponsor the outlawry of war than does the German democracy and the overwhelming majority of the nation's youth. But they demand mutuality. They desire to see at the helm, everywhere in the world, a truly democratic sentiment. Its widest diffusion will help the German people in their wish and determination to build it lastingly into their own institutions.



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Designs for gold coins, Freedom, Unity and Right, by Renée Sintenis, Berlin

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LOCARNO

Linoleum print by Strohmeyer, designed for Professor Dr. A. M. Warburg and presented to Herr Stresemann when visiting the Warburg Library in Hamburg in 1926

The Spirit of the New Germany

By ERNST JÄCKH

Author of The New Germany

I AM writing these words for The Survey on the eleventh of August, the anniversary of the new Constitution with which the German National Assembly at Weimar in 1919 instituted the new order, and incarnated the spirit in Germany. Intentionally I say "incarnated," not "created." For this new spirit, of democracy and freedom, has been and still is in reality the *old* spirit of Germany, of the former Germany, of the best Germany: the spirit of the civil revolution of 1848—its fruit.

The national song of the New Germany, demanding and celebrating "Unity and Right and Liberty," was composed in those old days; but in Prussia it has become the song of the revolution. In those days German idealism was suppressed by force of Prussian arms. Its most eager defenders —men such as Carl Schurz—fled to America, carried their liberal ideas to the United States, and took part in the development of American democracy. In Germany the power of the Prussian monarchy and its militarism were the victors in the political war. But they could not kill the spirit of liberal democracy.

THIS spirit has rekindled several times with varying power; it has been effective as a political force, with success varying in the various states of Germany. The states in the South, such as Württemburg, Bavaria, Baden and Hesse, even before the Great War developed a spirit and constitution similar to those of the English system of democratic monarchy. Especially in my own native state of Württemburg, as early as the fifteenth century, the duke upon his own initiative established a parliament of citizens and peasants against the feudal lords—the first on the European continent. Even in recent days before the War the king of Württemburg was called by Kaiser William II, "the president of a republic." When this king celebrated during the World War the twenty-fifth anniversary of his reign, the Socialist press of his state said he was "worthy to be the first president of the future republic of Württem-

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burg." The grand dukes of Baden and Hesse were called "Red Princes," because they not only received officially the Socialist leaders, but invited them personally. All these south states had democratic rights. And in all of them the sons of the "Forty-eighters," liberal party leaders, had influence. It was in large measure they who at the end of the War, became German statesmen in the young Republic.

In Prussia, and in the German Reichstag, we find the contrary. To be sure, Bismarck gave to the German Reichstag the most democratic voting-right in the world; a right hardly surpassed by the new Constitution of Weimar; but the old Reichstag had no real power as regards actual government. It was able to discuss and resolve; but the imperial government neither cared, nor needed to care. The emperor and his chancellor were quite independent of the German parliament. Within Germany, the effect of this democratic vote was *nil*: outside of Germany, nobody knew anything about it.

THE same three parties which have instituted the new Constitution of Weimar held majorities in the old Reichstag—namely, Social-Democratic, Democratic and Center—but the personalities who were leaders in the parliaments of the liberal states had no influence in the parliament of imperial Germany. That was ruled by Prussia. And in the hegemony of Prussia (which, as is well known, has 61 per cent of the population of Germany), Bismarck had the anchorage of German politics. The key to this was in the special privilege of Prussia, in the German Bundesrat, and a quite undemocratic voting-dominance—the so-called three-class system—which guaranteed in the Prussian Landtag control by the barons, the military caste and the bureaucracy. The Prussian Landtag was devoid of liberalism and democracy, as the result of its inequitable voting-power.

But that the Prussian *people* were not so devoid of liberalism and increasingly democratic feeling and desire, you could perceive even before the Great War, in the growing socialistic and liberal vote. These votes were, however, practically ineffective because of the unjust voting-power of the ruling classes. It is even more vividly evident now in the fact that the same Prussian territory—which under the former voting-conditions was the *rocher du bronce* of monarchy and militarism—has become today the corner-stone of the German Republic.

The free vote of the same people under the new Constitution of Weimar has succeeded, since 1919 to this day, in exhibiting an effective majority for democracy. And it assures such a majority for the future; because it is after all only the expression of the real structure and constituency of industrial Prussia. The minister-president and all his associates in the Prussian cabinet are now Socialists or Democrats (Protestant or Catholic), and so they will continue to be. The radical change in the new Prussia has been unmistakably evident in the fact that the minister-president since the beginning and to this day has come from the former radical opposition, the Socialist working classes; whereas formerly they came from the caste of the barons. Such a reversal is of the irony of history.

THESE parliaments, the German Reichstag as well as the Prussian Landtag, now in reality *decide*. The parliament, not the president or the government, now has the decisive power. The president proposes, but the parliament disposes. Each government depends for its continued existence upon the confidence of the parliament. Both parliaments, in Germany as well as in Prussia, have Democratic-Social-Democratic majorities; such a government Prussia has had for nine years. Germany has had it during that period several times.

THIS development of democratic parliamentarism has not been brought about by the revolution or by the Republic; it was prepared by the War and by the monarchy itself. Even the king-emperor knew from the outset of the War the necessity of democratization. Several times he promised, and solemnly promulgated the promise, to fulfil that necessity. And the German chancellor (he was at the same time Prussian minister-president) was instructed by the king-emperor to work out the necessary democratic reforms for both Prussia and Germany—reforms in effect similar to the English constitutional monarchy. These repeated evolutionary projects ran aground upon the energetic opposition of that most powerful representative of Prussian militarism, General Ludendorff, who during the War was even more powerful than the emperor. Only the sudden retirement of General Ludendorff from the General Staff in September, 1918, opened the way for the democratic accomplishment; so that the last chancellor of imperial Germany, Prince Max of Baden (by the way, a South German in Berlin), could propose a democratic parliamentary system. This was in October, 1918, and it was agreed to then by both the emperor and the Reichstag.

This "revolution from above" came too late; as a consequence of the military collapse there broke out the revolution from below. Instead of a democratic parliamentary monarchy, we got a democratic parliamentary Republic, by the will of the socialistic workers, whose program even during the monarchy demanded a republic and democratic citizenship. And this Republic is the recognition and assurance of the possibility of accomplishing the program of their grandfathers of 1848.

THE new young Republic had to make sure its stability, and to fight for it. At first not against monarchy or the monarchists—those had disappeared almost overnight in the flight of the emperor and the repudiation of the princes; and the monarchists kept in the background, hidden even. The young Republic had to fight first against the extreme radicalism of the Communists, who would have established a German soviet state such as they already had in Russia. It was the success of the statesmanlike wisdom of the Socialist leaders, especially of the chairman of the Socialist Party, Friedrich Ebert who later was president, that the vast majority of the working class and its leadership remained immune to the Communist infection. Thanks to the common sense of the German working people themselves, to their good organization and discipline—both fruits of good school education—the German workingman acknowledged the democratic Republic, at the head of which he saw his own leaders. He accepted that Republic as *his state;* he refused the Russian idea. So the Communist attack against the German working-class and its leadership ran aground. That is why to this day the Communists hate the German Socialist Party more than they do the civil parties. This victory of the Socialist leadership means at the same time that the Socialist Party has become in truth more a citizens' party. It has been changed from a revolutionary class-party to a constructive party, desiring to conserve and to assure the

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new Republic. Such Socialists are today the German chancellor, the minister of the interior, the minister of finance, the president of the Reichstag; and of Prussia the minister-president, the minister of the interior and the president of the Landtag.

Much later than the Communists, the radical Left, the monarchists, the die-hard Right, dared to endanger the new Republic, by several attempts, even of armed insurrection. Their leader was General Ludendorff. Every time without success. So the Republic has in fact passed all imaginable dangers, from the Right as well as from the Left. And it is now fully assured, not least by the representative behavior of the national hero of Germany, the former field-marshal, President von Hindenburg—like Washington, "first in war, first in peace; first in the hearts of his countrymen."

THESE contacts between the democratic opposition of the old Germany and the republican majority in the new Germany show also that the democratic Republic has carried through quickly and strongly the new Constitution, for which at Weimar in 1919 only the Middle and Left voted (Catholic Zentrum, Democrats and Social-Democrats). It is accepted today quite firmly by the Right too (People's and Nationalist Parties). These last-named also have furnished their leaders as ministers of the Republic; these ministers not only have sworn their fealty to the republican Constitution; they have kept it. Except the Communists to the Left and the extremists of the Far Right—who are both without real influence—the new Republic has behind it the whole German people.

The struggle between the new spirit and the old is no longer on the subject of republic or monarchy, but about something quite new, extending from Left to Right: that is, the problem of the "social agreement;" the struggle between capital and labor. This issue has become critical for all parties—even the Nationalist; even they are composed, like all the others, of both capital and labor, of industrialists and working people, of employers and employes. These struggles of the new Germany have no more labels, "Left" and "Right." Germany never will have just two parties of the extremes. That would signify for Germany its destruction in the class struggle. The new Germany always will have the concentration of the democratic and liberal forces in the middle. These forces will have from time to time their shadings toward one side or the other; but the principal struggle is now, and for a long time will continue to be, upon the solution of the problems between capital and labor. The fact that the last election for the Reichstag brought out a labor vote of 42 per cent in the two working-class parties (Social-Democrat and Communist)—to which we must add also the working people who are members of the other parties (Democrat and Nationalist)—shows that the next development will come in a great general acknowledgment of the social claims of the workers, who are not Socialists in the American sense of the word, but *citizens* (*staatsbürgerlich*). The new Republic will not be a "plutocratic" one; nor yet a narrowly democratic one; but one of a social spirit, of social agreement.

THE same decisive unanimity which acknowledged the new Republic stands behind the new foreign policy of Germany. The new system of Locarno, which thanks to the German initiative signified the first "outlawry of war"—that between Germany and France—was fought for three years ago. To be sure, it was then refused by the Right; but since then even the Right has not only acknowledged it but worked for it actively by participation in the government. The same may be said of the German policy toward the League of Nations. The fact that the Kellogg proposals were accepted first by Germany without qualification or reservation and also by all parties of the parliament, shows the whole development of the German people toward the peaceful cooperation of the nations.

THE new spirit of Germany has two root-systems: one realistic, one idealistic. The four roots of realism come from the physical and political nature of Germany's situation, which is that Germany is the central point in a circle, the focus of more than a dozen radii and sectors, just as for example is the American state of Kansas in the center of the United States. For Germany is, geographically, politically and economically:

(1) The most internationally-located *country*, without safe boundaries.
(2) The most internationally-isolated *state*, without armaments or alliances.
(3) The most internationally-situated *people*, without natural frontiers.
(4) The most internationally-entangled *economic organism*, without sufficient space.

Well, what would or could you do if confronted by such a situation? You are the central point of a circle, the radii of which are directed, concentrated, at this central point. You cannot eliminate or ignore these radii; you cannot evade or operate against them. You can only utilize and cooperate with them. You can only convert them into diagonals, into connecting lines. You can only convert the arrows of these radii, threatening as they do the isolation of the central point, into bonds of common interest, tying together the community of the circle and thereby confirming the security of the whole, both circle and center. The famous pre-war saying, "Necessity knows no law," I venture to turn into the constructive after-war truth: "Necessity knows its law." Here is the logic and the law of Locarno, the spirit, the realism and idealism of Germany's new policy.

The idealistic roots go back to the history of the old and the best Germany, from which we are separated only by the short period of the Hohenzollern kaisership. The supernational idea of the Right is really the old German idea, represented by Leibnitz through Kant and Herder to Schlegel and Schleiermacher; and forward to the "Forty-eighters" who, in old Paulskirche at Frankfurt am Main, offered motions and resolutions for disarmament, a World Court, German-French and German-Polish agreements; as it were notes from the Sale de Reformation of the League of Nations at Geneva of today. And once more forward to those who in the Bismarck period were ahead of their times. Those who were, then, politically ahead of their times are today and for the future politically fit; because the time has become ripe for them.

A German historian said, as if for our generation:

> Happy the generation upon which cruel necessity imposes a high political idea, great and simple, universally intelligible, drawing all other ideas into its orbit.

Undoubtedly the United States has become the architect of a new world. And what will be Germany's mission? History will one day prove, I hope, the old Scriptural saying: "The stone which the builders rejected, the same has become the chief cornerstone."

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The German High Command just before it cracked in 1918. In the foreground, left to right, are Hindenburg, Ludendorff, the Kaiser, with his back turned, and in the doorway the Crown Prince. Photograph from the German archives in Berlin

The German Officers' Dilemma

By ONE OF THEM

[Following is part of a communication addressed to the editor of this number of Survey Graphic by a former German army officer, whose present important official position under the German government makes it improper for him to write of these matters for publication over his own signature.]

I WAS an officer in the field army at the time of the Armistice and the revolution in Germany, occupying a position at unit headquarters which afforded many excellent opportunities for observation. Like thousands of others I had to confront and decide for myself the answer to the question which you have asked: How could a sincere adherent of autocratic Kaiserdom become the loyal citizen of a republic?

Never mind me, or others in the lower grades; think what it must have meant to Hindenburg—that great soldier and lifelong faithful servant of his royal master—who, together with thousands of his comrades in arms, within twenty-four hours and without a single stroke of the sword upon which pledges of faithfulness had through decades been repeated in solemn oath, accepted the downfall of their imperial idol, and fell in quietly to serve a cause which but a brief space before they had combated and subdued! What change of mentality, or, if not that, what reversion of intellectual orientation, had been effected, and how did it come about? I never before tried to analyze the psychological and philosophical portent of this dilemma; but I realize its interest as a phenomenon in the evolution of modern nations, its significance in the German picture.

For some time there had been increasing signs of political unrest at home, and loosening of discipline among the troops there. Four-and-a-half years of arduous campaigning coupled with ever-diminishing rations, increasingly inadequate clothing and a general deterioration of living conditions—the extent of which no one can realize who has not tried to live within an absolute blockade such as Germany suffered—had begun to tell on the nerves of the individual, as of the nation, and the tension was tightening day by day. Little as we might, or did, admit it, even within ourselves and much less by any outward admission, one felt that the whole psychological situation was precarious.

Still, no one, with exception of a relatively few convinced radicals, dreamed of serious disorder. In particular, no one could conceive any real overturning of the order of affairs within the country of any such nature as a year before had been experienced in Russia. We all felt that such things simply could not happen in *our* country. Neither our monarch, our government, nor any section of the leading classes, had committed anything like the sins, the omissions or the fateful errors which had unanimously been laid to the fault of those in charge of the Russian people's fate prior to the rise of Kerensky and the subsequent victory of Lenin. Besides, were we not (*Continued on page* 639)

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Youth Looks In, and Out

By HELMUTH JAMES von MOLTKE

THE youth of Germany are grouped in various unions and societies, some political, some unpolitical. The political groups are more or less appendages to the political parties. There is no organized political movement of German youth as such; no political aim for which youth works. Indeed, the groups unconnected with the parties have more or less deliberately kept themselves free from political programs and activities.

It would be grave for Germany's future, if this section of Germany's new generation were to leave politics to the offspring of existing parties. The truth is that these "unpolitical" youth have turned aside only from present-day politics; they are nevertheless deeply interested in all the problems of public and social life, seriously desiring to be prepared, when responsibility falls upon them, to work upon lines of their own.

At the outset I wish it to be clear that I personally belong to no group or union; that what I say represents no accepted program. I speak solely as one of Germany's youth, whose responsibility, duty and destiny I share. I leave aside as settled, or to be settled before our time, such subjects as our relations with France, the question of "war-guilt," etc.; likewise those shadowy problems of the future whose solution it is impossible to foresee.

OF paramount importance, bristling with difficulties, is *Reichsreform,* readjusting the relationship of the German states to the Reich, and to one another. The present structure is unsatisfactory, resulting in suspicion between Prussia and the Reich, between Bavaria and Prussia, between Bavaria and the Reich, and among all of the eighteen states, parliaments and administrations. There is unnecessary overlapping, friction, and, as a consequence, lack of initiative. It is a question whether the generation now in power and responsibility will be able to work out this reform. There is sentimental as well as practical resistance to be overcome; roots are deep in historical and psychological differences.

Moreover, there is a danger today in judging this great political question from a merely economic viewpoint; attempting to reorganize administration as if the Reich were an industrial concern—with a view merely of economy. The question is replete with time-consuming difficulties. But even if the present generation were able to carry out the *Reichsreform,* we, the young of today, are those who will live in this new Reich and complete the work begun. Therefore this is one of our questions. We shall set to work less hampered than those of today, because the unity of the Reich will be not only a problem to be dealt with but a fact from which to start.

PLANS and aspirations of the young are too numerous to list; most of them may prove under examination to be romantic dreams; but a certain line of thought can be discerned. For one thing, the youth not circumscribed for the time being by party programs, do not set up Prussian wishes, Bavarian wishes, Badish wishes, and so on; but simply wishes for the welfare of all Germany. In this also we shall have advantage over the present generation.

These wishes coincide in conceding to the Reich as distinguished from the separate states, the administration of justice, defense and foreign affairs; while demanding decentralization of the new administration and independence for the self-administrative bodies, especially as regards taxation, and imbuing even the smallest self-administrative bodies with a sense of responsibility to the whole. That the whole nation, as a whole, should be trained politically, to govern and administer itself, is our chief demand. Every citizen must feel his responsibility. This responsibility is felt only by those who must control their own financial affairs, knowing that the state will in no way help if administration is inefficient and wasteful.

This may seem obvious and banal; but its realization would mean a great step forward for Germany's East, as the eastern provinces have in the past been administered wholly from headquarters. And only so may western Germany be reconciled to the consolidated Reich, and the disappearance of the smaller states.

One fact is quite clear, and that is that the youth of Germany are determined in due time to govern themselves; only a very small number have reached that stage where they are willing to let others govern likewise.

TWO other grave internal questions will have to be met; namely, the relation of economics and politics, and that of classes to each other. These are changing in this new day.

One has become accustomed to look upon politics as an instrument of economic development. Each party tries to convince the electorate that its program will give economic advantage to a particular group. One party program contains hardly anything beyond the promise of economic advantage for a certain class. And each

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of the parties tends to become more or less the representation of a special group. This development is largely the result of post-war conditions. Economic questions have been paramount: inflation, reparations, rationalization of industry, have resulted in a condition in which political initiative has been paralyzed by the economic point of view. When once a certain degree of economic stabilization shall have been reached in Germany, when political questions of first importance return to the foreground, then we may expect a reawakening of political thought, and the need for political decisions.

The state has taken upon itself the right to interfere in economic affairs. It controls the big monopolies and trusts; it demands to be informed as to conditions and output in such economic groups as agriculture, mining, etc.; it interferes in the matter of wages. In fact, the state looks upon itself as intermediary between employers and employes, and as guardian of the interests of consumers. We cannot return to *laissez faire*. Probably never again in Germany will economic life be free. Bureaucracy more and more will interfere in the decisions of the great trusts, the regulation of wages; division of income will never again be decided in unrestrained open competition. On the one hand we must welcome the big organizations of industry for practical reasons, and on the other look to the state to restrain the power which money itself confers.

THE question of the relationship of classes more vitally interests the new generation. This question is being tackled by Young Germany with an energy promising a solution for their time. The individual political parties pretend to aim at a state without class distinctions. The conservative parties, the industrial parties, would convert the workers to the industrial system; they would make the individual workman feel himself part of the factory and so responsible for the whole. They vision one great community working together. The workmen's ideal state is likewise one without class distinctions; but they would convert all people into workmen.

German youth, so far as it is not an appendage of these parties, is somewhat skeptical toward these aspirations. For my part, I cannot see why class distinctions in themselves should be considered objectionable; I doubt whether the next generation will bring about any leveling; unless one of these groups should unconditionally control the destinies of the country. Yet a realignment in the relationship of classes is urgently needed. The chief misconceptions exist now between town and country; and between those with academic education and those without it. We hope that this great gulf between the two differently educated citizens will at least partly disappear with the help of the new system of education, which prescribes the same fundamental schooling for all up to the age of special training.

The estrangement between town and country has been deepened by the countryman's prejudice against factory workers. Insofar as the country people have naturally any intimate contact with factory workers, they consider them second-rate folk who have unhealthy work and therefore must be sickly, live in poor and unwholesome places, drink, and are generally restless and demoralized.

That men may look down upon great sections of their fellow citizens as inferior can be explained in part by the fact that men are very cheap in Germany; in fact, we export them. In time they will become more valuable; the birth-rate is declining; the standard of living is rising; so in time the misunderstanding growing out of this root will diminish. But we are determined not to wait for time; to do everything possible to clear away these senseless misunderstandings. We want to help young people of all classes to come to know each other. We feel that it is the duty of university students to take the lead in this development. We want every boy and girl to learn something about the conditions of existence in other classes. I feel sure that in time all young Germans will support this demand, and that young men will use the time that used to be spent in military service, in getting to know their own countrymen.

NOW, to look outside. For centuries the Rhine has been the axis of European politics. Since 1914 it has lost its former vital significance. Any real or permanent *rapprochement* between France and Germany was inconceivable while the Rhine remained the political and intellectual boundary it used to be. In consequence of this momentous change, Europe is becoming more and more a spiritual unit. Therefore we young people repudiate the old axiom that there must be conflagrations, elementary and inevitable and to be quenched only by war. German foreign policy henceforth will be chiefly directed toward preventing conflicts, smoothing out difficulties, trying to create a more satisfactory and reasonable European structure.

It is preeminently Germany's mission to foster this ideal, because German minorities exist in all those states which are either dissatisfied with things as they are, or whose boundaries inevitably will have to be remade. So our minority politics will be of the utmost importance, and I believe the only way for us is to strengthen the feeling in these minorities to the end that while they are connected with Germany by sentiment, sympathy, language and spirit, they must become valuable citizens of their new countries. Especially among the "unpolitical" youth is there strong determination to help German brethren living in other countries to be as useful as possible in their new state; for the more highly they are regarded there, the greater will be their influence for the sake of Europe's peace.

ALTHOUGH we realize that we are in a high degree responsible for Europe, there are a number of European problems which it is not our duty to solve. Such for example are the questions arising from colonial possessions; especially that of the attitude of white men toward other races. It is important to state this, because once a German policy sought to entangle us in such matters. As Germany has no colonies, our only interest in colonial countries is directed to keeping the land open to unrestricted trade, and to helping the natives to participate in technic and civilization. Herein I think we work on the same lines with the United States.

Germany's interest in the United States grows steadily. The cordial relations between the two countries were lately manifested when the American ambassador presented to the University of Heidelberg a large sum of money on behalf of America, and in the fact that Germany was the first to sign the Kellogg Pact.

WHAT then do we expect of the United States? One often hears the United States spoken of as the most imperialistic power; ready to annex Central America, spending vast sums on warships and military equipment; Big Industry must for its own interest advocate wars of conquest! American resolutions (*Continued on page* 624)

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The German Woman's Place

By DR. MARIE ELISABETH LÜDERS
Member of the Reichstag

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Frau Dr. M. E. Lüders

CONSEQUENCES of the War have profoundly changed the status of women in Germany. They had no vote, no right to participate in parliament or local legislatures, though in some especially progressive cities they were permitted "advisory" functions with regard to certain charity and "welfare" matters. All efforts of women's organizations to open the way for women in public life were thwarted by the opposition of the men and the indifference of the women themselves. Women demanding "equal rights" were largely of the self-supporting class—those who knew by experience the disadvantages and injustices ensuing from exclusively male control of legislation and administration. Even in those days many women of the "housewife" class realized that changed conditions necessitated reform of the marriage system, with regard especially to property rights and the mother's control of education and child-welfare. But the great mass of the women, overburdened with household cares, had no time, strength or money to participate in their own emancipation.

As for the men, only those of the Left or the Middle parties, and the Socialists, supported the women—and that mostly on paper. The others, and the government, totally rejected these ideas, and the conservatives beheld them with a kind of terror; regarding the whole movement as inappropriate, even contrary to divine order. The influence of the churches is to this day adverse, and that deters many women.

During the War, however, millions of women found themselves suddenly and for years *alone,* confronted by unwonted responsibilities. They had not only to continue their domestic duties and cares, but to earn the means of bare living. Often they had to assume the command of offices and farms, taking the place of the absent husband or other man or men. For years women had to bear not only the grief and loneliness but the heaviest burdens of circumstances.

So, after the War, such women were no longer objects for the protection and domination of men; no longer were they disposed to obey the will of the male partner; no longer were they mystified by the wonders of his employment.

This total revolution in the position of women, not only in the political but also in the economic field, and in the human intimate personal relations, is not realized by many to this day. But I believe it is one of the most important factors leading toward acknowledgment of the right of women to equality in all fields, everywhere, unconditionally.

It is now quite impossible for the German woman that man shall rule the economic and political life; that only he shall determine the content of the laws, the rights and duties of women. Many men, too, are now quite reconciled to the fact that their sole dominance is past, formally and practically; *that henceforth woman stands and will stand, both in professional and in personal life, no longer behind, but beside the man.*

Many who look at the development of German conditions only as outsiders, and others within Germany, will say that woman's coming within the great circle of our political responsibilities has not greatly changed things; especially that her influence in political life upon the parties and on parliamentary work is very small. True until today it is; that her influence on the parties is much smaller than it should be in the interest of the political life of Germany. Strange as it may seem, the political parties are almost the only great organizational form in Germany which, in the general alteration of condition, has suffered little change. They sit unaltered on their patched-up programs, together with persons burdened by their thousand inherited limitations. These hinder the parties in their political development and in their indispensable reorganization. And they hinder them too often in the realization of the interests and needs of women; in their appreciation of the general political and cultural importance of woman's work. Here lies the conflict between the influence of women upon the parties and the effects of party limitations upon women's interests.

DESPITE the party political limitations, the influence of women upon parliamentary politics as well as upon social and cultural progress has brought very clear recognition of woman's understanding of affairs; still more of the *human* aspects—real *living* as contrasted with mechanical aspects—of things; has been the real cause of the enactment of several new laws and of the important modification of others. Still more, it has changed profoundly the whole atmosphere of approach to problems of German politics, economics and culture. Especially strongly has it affected those subjects which naturally are nearest to the life and interests of women—such as education and teaching, welfare of mothers and children, dwellings and housekeeping, professional and vocational training, marriage, citizenship, etc. The women are especially eager to keep the rights which the new Constitution has given to them, and they are very eager too that these rights shall be exercised in the most loyal sense. Also in self-defense, because in some matters—such for instance as questions of equal conditions for women in the public service—men still try to evict or exclude them. So also in matters of wages and salaries.

In spite of the fact that many things rightly demanded by women have not been gained; that many are indifferent and unappreciative, many others afraid; it would be an error to suppose that German women on the whole do not know their political position and powers, or that they would go backward one step in the field that they have gained. They are determined to keep what they have gained; to conquer what they do not yet possess, with the great will to keep their rights and to do their duty to the whole people.

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Crayon by Winold Reiss

GRANDMOTHER: BLACK FOREST

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Crayon by Winold Reiss

THE PRAYER: BLACK FOREST

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The Economic Ifs

By Professor Dr. M. J. BONN

TEN years were gone on November ninth since the German revolution swept away the twenty-odd dynasties which had lorded it over Germany, some of them since time immemorial. To the foreign observer it seemed a political revolution, comparable to its predecessors in Western Europe, differing from them so far only as it was achieved with lightning rapidity and with little loss of life. In reality it was a social revolution, carried out mainly by the working class. Their success in overturning monarchical institutions in Western Europe and the moderation with which they used their newly won power, gave them full partnership in a state where they were not the majority. For even today the working class proper, including domestic servants, count but fifteen and one-half million people in a total gainfully employed of about thirty-two millions. When they grasped power, Bolshevism seemed to many minds the only possible outcome of the chaos. But actually it was the German working class which fought Bolshevism with all their strength, in the successful endeavor to create a democratic German republic. They stretched moderation to such a point that in those days when nationalization was the catch-word and when the capitalist class were not strong enough to defend themselves, not even the mines were nationalized.

As soon as the first fever of revolution and demobilization was over, the working class were quite willing to do their part in the rebuilding of a capitalistic world, provided that their principal demands were guaranteed to them: Labor was made the equal of capital inasmuch as collective bargaining became the method of fixing wages; it was represented in the management of the works by the creation of works councils, in practice fairly innocuous from the employers' point of view; government price-control in the iron and coal industry was established. Some self-governing economic bodies were erected on which capital and labor, equally represented, were to carry out a system of industrial self-government, which threatened at some time to become a joint exploitation by the producers, employers and employes against the public. An economic council—an industrial parliament composed equally of employers and employes—which was to supersede the political parliament's action in economic legislation, has developed into a mere council of permanent experts.

Systematic socialization (nationalization) played a far smaller part in the revolutionary days of the German commonwealth than did automatic confiscation by the consequences of inflation. The reparation clauses of the Peace Treaty made the restoration of the currency which Germany like the other belligerents had inflated, almost impossible. The loss, by the "peace," of flourishing provinces as well as of her commercial marine and her investments in foreign countries, was meant to retard her industrial recovery, which in an industrial age might hasten her political resurrection. At the same time she was saddled with a heavy indemnity, going far beyond the reparation of the damages she had bound herself to pay in the Armistice negotiations with President Wilson. She was made to pay five billion dollars within a very short period—five times the amount which, a half century earlier, she had extracted from France. But these five billions were but a first instalment, after the paying of which the total was to be fixed, not later than May, 1921.

GERMANY has many distinguished economists who could discuss objectively the tremendous economic problems with which the nation is struggling. None among them all is better equipped than Dr. M. J. Bonn, of the Handelshochschule (Academy of Economics) of Berlin. Certainly none is better known in America. Now and for a long, long time to come, the economic and financial situation created by the payment of reparations under the Dawes Plan, or possible modifications of it, constitutes the warp into which all German life must weave its pattern. This article presents the dominant tone of the whole German picture.

Never before in the financial history of the world was an undetermined indemnity demanded. It put a premium on financial procrastination, for if the first five billions came easily forth, the definite bill presented would be based on that demonstrated capacity to pay. The total ultimately demanded was double the amount the American experts during the negotiations had considered the possible maximum.

ANY effort to stabilize the German currency was doomed to failure under such circumstances. While the United States granted their allied debtors a three-years' moratorium to balance their budget and to stabilize their currency, Germany was required to pay huge sums, knowing all the time that this partial liquidation of the debt would merely saddle her with more unwieldy obligations. Though several efforts to balance the budget were made, sufficient provision for reparations could not be included; incessant political crises created an atmosphere of international suspicion and depreciated the mark. As a result the ever-recurring deficit was covered by new issues of paper currency, and a subsequent deeper fall of the mark.

SOME people considered this continued inflation an easy method of getting rid of the government debt—the Reichs war debt alone was over forty billion dollars. And of course the debtor class all over the country—the owners of mortgaged farms and town houses, the industrial concerns whose cost of production was affected by the charges on the debentures they had issued, the municipalities and the

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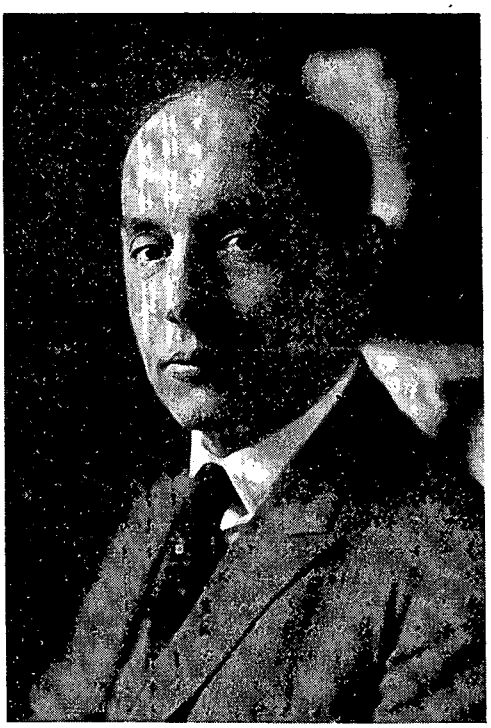
states which owned a good many public utilities for which they had borrowed heavily—all these very powerful groups were not deeply interested in fighting inflation. The working class was strongly organized; their wages moved upwards fairly parallel to the upward trend of prices. As rent control kept house-rent at an almost nominal rate, they had scarcely any expense under that head. Comparatively small wages assured them a fairly decent standard of living when compared with that of the middle class who formerly ranked above them and who were now slowly pauperized. The employers of labor profited greatly by comparatively low wages, mainly due to the non-existence of house-rent. And the fact that the rise in prices antedated the raising of wages, sometimes for quite a considerable period, gave them a big margin for profit. They not only got rid of their old bonded debt; but they soon discovered that by incurring new debts, and by investing the proceeds in all sorts of concerns and combinations, they could increase the size of their undertakings at very little cost. The era of huge, mostly vertical, amalgamation was ushered in, some fusions being planned to embrace every stage from raw material to finished product, including distribution and shipping. It seemed as if the real beneficiaries of the revolution had not been the working class but a handful of industrial magnates who spread their arms octopus-like all over the country. As they had to furnish the coal—the delivery the Treaty of Peace had forced on the German government—they gained a position in international reparation negotiations which they used to the utmost.

Under these circumstances the forces obstructing stabilization could not be overcome, especially as they never tired of saying that a reasonable settlement of the reparation problem must precede stabilization.



Transocean Berlin

Dr. M. J. Bonn

ALL hope for stabilization [of the old currency] ended with the invasion of the Ruhr, which completely smashed German finance and very nearly broke up the country politically and socially as well. Before it began (January 10, 1923), one dollar could have bought 8,000 marks; when it was over (November, 1923), its equivalent was 250 *billion marks.*

At the last moment, as the whole country seemed about to go to pieces, a new currency, identical in value with the old goldmark was created, and by ruthless cutting the budget was made to balance. A little later an international commission of experts headed by Vice-President Dawes, evolved a working plan for the settlement of the reparation payments during the ensuing years, thus giving endurance to the provisional stabilization, which Germany had carried by her own fast-ebbing strength.

When the Ruhr struggle was over, the havoc played by inflation in Germany became clearly visible. A great deal of the damage was due, no doubt, to the paralysis of economic life caused by the occupation of the great industrial districts of Rhine and Ruhr and to their complete severance for the time being from the rest of the country; but most of the permanent damage was due to inflation—inflation which the Ruhr invasion made incurable.

THE middle class from which the brains of Germany had always been drawn, was ruined. None of their bonds, mortgages, debentures was worth a farthing. A violent agitation for revalorizing the worthless bonds arose, which after an obstinate resistance, made particularly galling by legal quibbles of legalistically minded treasury clerks, brought about legislation entitling the private creditor to about 25 per cent of his capital debt by 1932 and to a moderate interest up to that date. Government creditors fared worse; their maximum compensation is about 10 per cent, as the Allied powers hold a prior lien on all German government property.

The groups which were supposed to have profited by the wholesale spoliation of their creditors turned out to be losers too. True enough, their land and their factories were physically intact. In many cases during the inflation they had even enlarged their plants, to forestall the depreciation of their money. But there was no working capital left. Some of it had been invested in new plants and, as experience quickly showed, many of them had been badly planned and badly executed; another part of it had fled abroad, and the rest had been spent, wasted in the consumption of perishable goods. Germany was so devoid of liquid capital that for quite a time loans to first-class concerns cost about 25 per cent; gilt-edged mortgage bonds yielding 10 per cent were issued at 85. Germany could be put on her legs only by borrowing heavily abroad. In a very short time the debt weighing on German industry and agriculture, which inflation was supposed to have lifted completely, was quite as heavy as before. Though capital sums might be smaller, the annual charges, owing to the increased rate of interest, were quite as burdensome. Within a few years the burdens on German agriculture have reached a sum of nearly two billion dollars—probably half only of the pre-inflation debt, but paying interest at 8 per cent to 10 per cent where previously 4 per cent to 5 per cent had been the rule. This rise in the rate of interest is equivalent, of course, to a corresponding reduction of the capital value of land, houses and plants. For an estate yielding say $5,000 a year is worth $100,000 when the rate of interest is 5 per cent, but only $50,000 when it is 10 per cent.

THE ruin of the *rentier* has, moreover, greatly contracted the home market and with it the possibility of using the greatly enlarged plants to full capacity, which would insure employment to workers and comparatively low prices to consumers. There have been fairly good markets in Germany during the last two years and quite a decrease of the army of unemployed who numbered over two millions in January 1927. This reduction has been mainly due to

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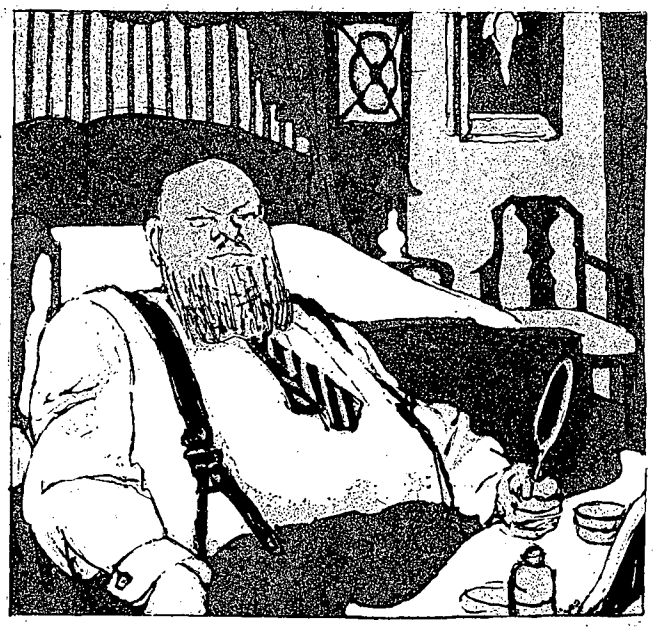


STRESEMANN MIGHT RAISE WHISKERS

"The Foreign Minister will set a good example if he will economize on razors." (One of a series of German Economy cartoons in Simplicissimus, Munich, Nov. 28, 1927)

the influx of some $1,250,000,000 of foreign loans with which Germany partly worked her existing plants and which she used partly for reorganizing her works. For instead of strengthening a nation's international position, as formerly was supposed to be the case, inflation greatly weakens it. As foreign imports are cut off, and as exports are made easy, by a depreciating currency, there is no need to be up to international standards. When the artificial stimulus ceases to act, the inefficiency of the existing plant becomes evident. It has to be scrapped and reconstructed. And as the capital to carry out this reorganization is not available at home, it has to be borrowed abroad.

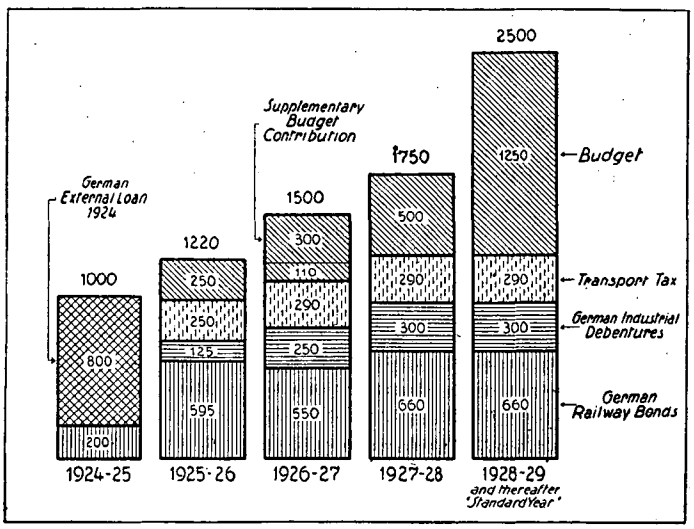
The moral which can be drawn from Germany's inflation experience is that you get rid of your creditor at home in order to put in its place a foreign creditor at more onerous terms. And while the home creditor offered you a ready market at your door, the foreign creditor often fights you by protective tariffs.

GERMANY is bound to be a debtor nation for some time to come. Though the Dawes Plan strengthened her credit considerably by removing all doubts about the stability of her currency, it has put a heavy drain upon her all-too-slight capital resources. It charged her with an annuity of nearly $250,000,000, payable over forty years and secured on German railways and German industrial concerns by the issue of railway and industrial bonds amounting to $2,750,000,000 and $1,250,000,000. To this first annuity is added a second annuity of another $400,000,000. This second annuity has not yet been capitalized; it may be deferred, reduced or remitted if Germany is unable to transfer her annual payments without danger to her currency. This second annuity is based on the proceeds of German customs and excise. Both annuities combined reach over $600,000,000. The first four years of the Dawes Plan which have just elapsed were considered to be transitional. The full rate of payment, $600,000,000 a year, falls due for the first time in the current year. In the transitional four years, over $1,350,000,000 have been transferred, of which, however, $200,000,000 in accordance with the plan was borrowed abroad. But over $1,000,000,000 had to be exported from a country which is unable to finance her industries without foreign help. The transfer never could have been effected if German private concerns, German states and municipalities had not secured loans of $1,250,000,000 to $1,500,000,000 abroad, thus enabling the German government, or rather the reparation agent, to remit a billion dollars of German savings in the opposite direction.

On one side, this borrowed money made possible the transfer of the reparation payments without a hitch and without a shock to German currency; for as the total payments abroad were less than the credit available in foreign currency, no danger to the currency could arise. On the other, it provided for industrial reorganization the capital which under the Dawes Plan cannot be saved by Germany, thus giving an impetus to German industry.

BUT the future is by no means clear. In the present year more than $600,000,000 must be paid abroad on reparation account. To this must be added interest and sinking fund on the borrowed billions which will be scarcely less than $100,000,000, bringing the total to nearly three-quarters of a billion dollars. Will Germany be able to pay these sums without some risk to her currency? Will she be able to do so from her own resources, or will she have to rely on additional foreign loans?

This will depend partly on the state of foreign markets, whether they are both willing and able to lend new money at rates which Germany can afford to pay. Beyond that the future will depend on the results of the foreign investments made so far in Germany. If the reorganization of German industry, carried out with the help of foreign loans, is successful, if the yields from this invested capital are sufficient not only to pay interest and sinking fund abroad but to distribute profits at home and to help the country to accumulate its own capital, no insuperable difficulties will be encountered. But whether that will be the case or not, does not depend entirely on Germany and on the way she handles the money entrusted to her. It depends to a considerable degree on the world's general economic policy, on the opening or the closing of markets and on the general political situation in Europe and oversea.



Mounting total of reparations. From report, 1928, of S. Parker Gilbert, agent-general of reparations

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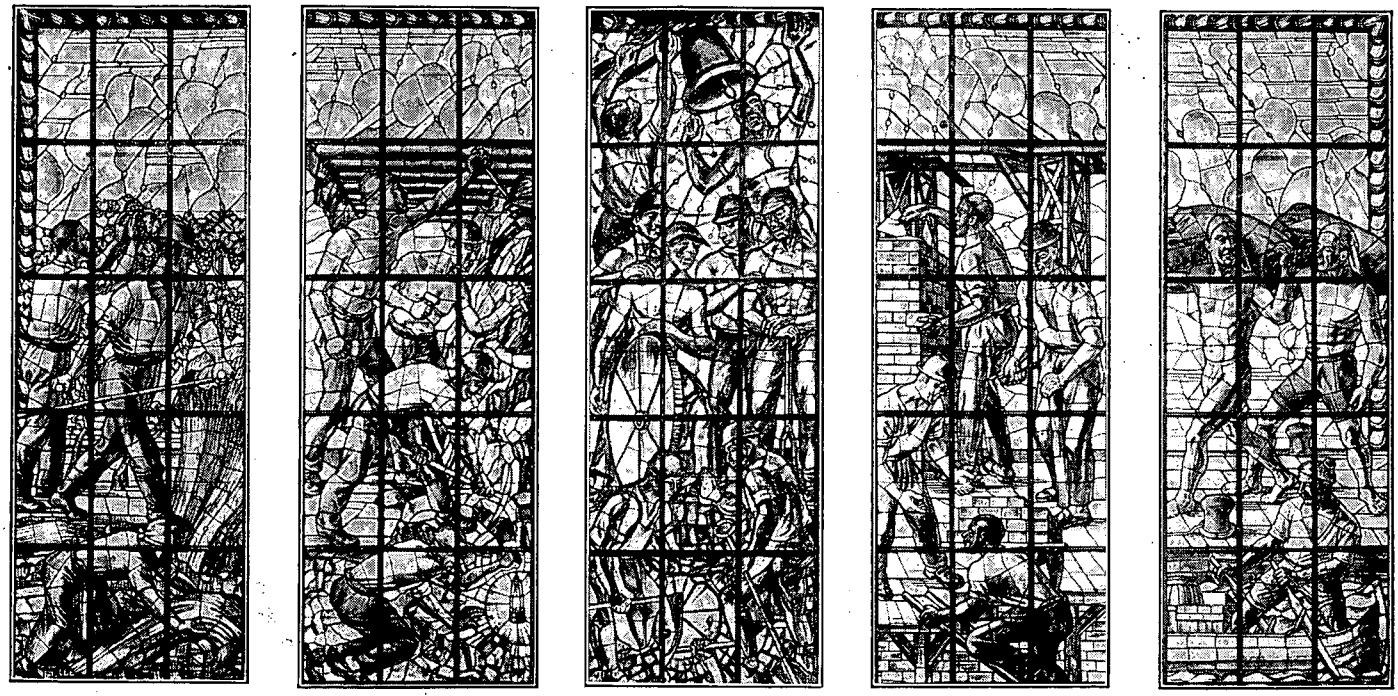

Farming *Mining* *Manufacture* *Building* *Transport*

Stained glass windows presented to the International Labor Office at Geneva by the German Republic: Designed by Max Pechstein, executed by Puhl Wagner, and reproduced from a photograph by F. H. Jullien

The Fabric of Social Welfare

By Dr. RUTH WEILAND

Councillor for Child Welfare of the German Red Cross

MODERN Germany recognizes the right of persons of all walks of life to minimum standards of living and to help in time of need. Corollary to this is the assumed obligation of all persons to perform productive service beyond that of mere maintenance. Each German is expected to cooperate in the rehabilitation of his country's economic and social life, unless incapacitated by sickness or old age. Even if insensible to this moral obligation, he must participate in the general social program through the medium of taxes. On the other hand, society utilizes the funds thus secured not merely for the care of those incapable of work, but for measures designed to protect its members against want.

This point of view has gained adherence in Germany, especially since the War, for two reasons. In the first place, people of all ranks of German society sacrificed their material possessions and, many of them, their lives, in the War. Those who escaped the War, for the most part lost all in the inflation. The obligation to care for vast numbers of people who had thus been sacrificed to war inflation has fallen upon the state during this last decade, in its time of utter weakness. The second reason for the development of a sense of social obligation thereof must be sought in the historical development of German social politics.

One finds in Germany now a strong sense of interdependence of the individual and the group. This feeling finds expression in widespread interest in social measures, an interest extending even to those devoid of humanitarian impulses. The espousal of these measures has become a means of gaining influence and is frequently resorted to by political and religious groups and economic organizations. The German social-welfare movement is a complex of decades of tradition and of the modern results of international agreements and reparations claims.

BASIC under the whole scheme of social welfare in Germany is the system of social insurance. It originated under Bismarck in the decade 1870-1880, when, thanks to the influence of the two great German Socialists, Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lasalle, the number of persons in the German monarchy who voted the Social-Democratic ticket rose to about one million. This situation, which seemed dangerous to Bismarck, caused him to seek to meet the danger of social revolution by measures of social reform. He hoped also thereby to win labor's interest in the existing form of state organization. Legislation providing for insurance of the worker against sickness, accident, invalidity and old age was passed between 1883 and 1889. In themselves noteworthy, these measures were nevertheless discredited because accompanied by legislation brutally hostile to the Socialist movement.

It must be remembered that the theory of Karl Marx did not contemplate bettering the condition of the working classes through state measures. He prophesied world revolution as a result of increasing misery of the masses. Only later did Socialism in Germany turn away from the concept of revolution fomented by increasing misery, develop evolu-

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tionary ideas of the progressive development of labor and interest the workers in cooperation for the solution of the problems involved in bettering their own situation. This process of change from a Socialism of class conflict and revolution to one of cooperation for the promotion of social welfare was furthered by compulsory social insurance and other social legislation. This general course of development was, indeed, obstructed by reactionary counter-tendencies, which were particularly active before the World War; but it could not be permanently retarded.

Healthy progress in the development of social insurance, as in all other fields, was interrupted by the War. Not only on the front but behind the lines, human effort and human life were unsparingly employed. Nevertheless, so deeply rooted were compulsory-insurance and public-welfare measures that in spite of the shattering effects of war and inflation, social insurance not only was not discontinued during these crises but, after a relatively short period, attained the level of pre-war performance, provided new funds, and enlarged its scope.

THE establishment of the German Republic and the writing of a democratic Constitution gave rise to significant enunciation of the principles of social insurance. In the Weimar Constitution, Article 161 reads as follows:

> For the maintenance of health and capacity to work, the protection of motherhood, and provision for the economic consequences of old age, weakness and the misfortunes of life, the federal government shall create a comprehensive insurance system in which the insured also shall cooperate on a proportional basis.

Moreover, the disciplined and orderly character of the German revolution itself, which gave birth to the new Constitution, may be at least partially explained by the high training and discipline of German labor, the interest of the working groups in an orderly transfer of power to the democratic state, and their desire to retain the protection established against sickness, invalidity and old age.

SO the future of social measures in Germany lies not in the field of protection through private and social measures, but in a broad program which shall include all types of social insurance; this program aims to protect the majority of the population from want, without, of course, affecting the individual's desire to help himself. Its latest addition is the federal employment exchanges and unemployment-insurance law of 1927. It is hoped that this last measure will banish the specter of unemployment, which has afflicted tens of thousands of adults and has robbed countless children of the possibility of normal physical and moral growth. It is not surprising that in some capitalistic circles opposition against this insurance system arises, especially when statistics show that approximately a twelfth or a fifteenth part of the total income of the German people is transferred to social insurance. In terms of actual amounts spent in 1927, 4,800,000,000 marks were required for social insurance. Of this huge sum, 4,100,000,000 marks were provided by employes and workers. In the case of unemployment insurance, contributions to the fund were fifty-fifty. The remaining 700,000,000 marks were provided by the state.

THE system of social insurance is one of the most important foundation-stones upon which the structure of the German Republic rests. Its central aim is the establishment of security for the masses—a security essential to the sound development of the German Republic.

For the foreigner it is not easy to understand the interrelationship of the many wheels in the complicated German social clockwork, for the German structure is unique in the world and is a product of the particular social and political conditions and developmental tendencies. There are, however, three main types of social activity:

1. Social insurance and protective labor legislation.
2. Public social work.
3. The activities of private organizations.

Many laws seeks to protect children, women and even adult male workers from industrial exploitation. Germany, indeed, has been outstanding in ratification of the Washington agreement of 1919, although not represented at that conference. The German Constitution expressly provides for such protection in Article 147, which reads, "Labor is to receive special protection under the government." This provision allows for the introduction of many single laws, which it is not possible, in the brief space of this paper, to enumerate.

GERMAN social insurance is divided into five great branches: insurance against sickness; against accident; against invalidity; against loss of the husband, father or other person responsible for one's support; and against unemployment. This insurance is compulsory for all workers and salaried employes who receive less than a certain monthly income. Responsibility for carrying it out is lodged with bodies subject to public supervision and, for the most part, locally organized. Usually these bodies are composed of representatives of employers and workers. Only in the case of accident insurance is the financial and administrative body a cooperative organization of all industries or establishments that employ more than ten workers or that have dangerous machinery. It is composed exclusively of employers. For example: The organization itself provides the funds to pay compensation for accident.

A young worker suffered a severe leg injury on a machine. The accident-insurance fund took charge of the exceedingly expensive surgical and medical treatment. The leg was saved but remained stiff, so that the young man could not resume his previous work. The physician suggested a sitting job. The accident-insurance fund paid the expenses of a vocational reeducation course and found the man a new position. Without this aid from the fund he might have suffered permanent physical and moral deterioration and become permanently dependent.

In case of permanent disability resulting from accident, the insurance fund pays a regular income amounting to two-thirds of his yearly earnings previous to the accident.

HEALTH insurance is, however, the pillar of social insurance. Funds for this form of compensation are paid, two-thirds by the employer and one-third by the worker. But on the executive committees administering the fund, representation is on the basis of one-third from the employing and two-thirds from the working group. See the health insurance in operation:

A worker and his wife, married a few years, were both working in order to pay off debts incurred in establishing the household and in connection with the birth of their two children. Both were, of course, included in the compulsory health-insurance system. Mr. M suddenly became ill and consulted one of the many physicians, to whose free services

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he was entitled as a member of the health-insurance fund. He became worse and had to go to a hospital. The health-insurance fund paid not only the hospital bills but also to the family one-fourth of the weekly wage-rate he was receiving previous to his illness. The health-insurance fund was required by law to make these payments for twenty-six weeks. Meanwhile the family situation became more difficult, because Mrs. M was expecting a third child. For her confinement she received from the health-insurance fund free medical care and free attendance of a midwife, medicine, a lump sum to cover other costs of confinement, and maternity benefits for six weeks before and after childbirth. Had Mr. M died, the family would also have received life insurance to the amount of twenty times his weekly wage.

One of the interesting features of health insurance in Germany is the conflict between private physicians and the clinics organized by the local health-insurance fund, in which specialists practice group medicine and important prophylactic measures are made available. The cause of the conflict has been in part the fear of loss of practice on the part of private physicians. Today these clinics, after rather widespread development, have suffered reversals because of the opposition of the private physicians. They must and will, however, regain their former strength and position.

COUNTLESS persons in their prime lose their capacity for work and as invalids become a burden to society. This undeserved fate is alleviated through insurance against invalidity and against loss or disablement of the wage-earner. A person who becomes an invalid at the age of sixty-five or earlier, receives a pension. The sum varies according to the length of time contributions toward this pension have been paid on his behalf. These contributions are paid in equal proportion by employer and worker. Moreover, the widow of an insured person, and his orphans who are less than fifteen years of age, also receive a pension. Such provision is made not only for workers and their families but also for salaried employes, social workers, administrative officials and college teachers, insofar as they are not civil-service employes or government officials and, in that capacity, insured for life.

In addition to this, we are just inaugurating a comprehensive unemployment-insurance system. Funds for this purpose are provided by employer and worker and under certain conditions also by the localities and the federal government. Each person is entitled to benefit who is able and willing to work and involuntarily unemployed, and who has worked for twenty-six weeks within the last year in a compulsorily insured occupation.

IN spite of all this protective labor legislation and social insurance, social work performed by public and private agencies is not superfluous. In this field also the development of the German system is interesting and unique. Before the War, many private organizations had grown up to handle special social problems. These, for the most part, lost all of their funds during the inflation. Those who had supported them also lost so heavily that in many instances they themselves required assistance. Thus these organizations were frequently forced to go out of existence or largely to relinquish their activities. At the same time the War and inflation greatly augmented want and the demand upon relief organization. To this situation may be attributed the change in the attitude of the German people toward their collective responsibility and disappearance of the older feeling about the degrading character of public relief.

NEW legislation in the post-war period sought to centralize public and private effort. The most significant bills of this sort are the Federal Decree Concerning Obligation to Provide Relief, and the Federal Juvenile Welfare law. These laws embody the modern principles of fighting poverty through preventive measures, basically and particularly through cure of social ills. The aim is to prevent the individual's occasional periods of distress from becoming chronic. For this reason the central feature of all welfare measures is the conservation or revival of capacity to work. Every citizen—and also the necessitous alien—has a legal right to living, shelter, food, clothing, care in sickness and burial. Youth must be guaranteed education and occupational training. The first clause of the Federal Juvenile Welfare law reads, *"Every German child is entitled to education to fit him for physical, intellectual and social activity."*

German relief recognizes different types of legitimate recipients of aid. Victims of the War make up one group. Those who lost everything in the inflation constitute another. Responsibility for the care of all of these groups is lodged with the cities or unions of small villages or localities. Germany is thus covered with a network of welfare and children's agencies. These seek to coordinate to prevent overlapping of work or waste of resources.

All of these public social agencies have been established under federal legislative orders and are under the supervision and control of the local public authorities; but the private welfare agencies are also given representation on these public bodies. These bodies have power of decision concerning plan of work, use of funds, and the extension of activity. Noteworthy in this connection are special forms of medical service, created to carry out the terms of special health legislation, such as those seeking to fight tuberculosis, venereal diseases or to deal with problems of crippled children or special care for infants. Other laws provide for and regulate juvenile courts and special protection for young people who are employed. This cooperation of public authorities and private welfare organizations is made more easy and effective because the countless private organizations are federated into national organizations. These bodies seek to uphold the responsibility of local public authorities and to carry out pioneer work in new fields.

AS part of the development of social work during this decade, has come increased recognition of the need for professional social workers. Today, therefore, social workers in Germany must have training in the principles, theory and practice of social work in one of the thirty-two schools of social work, must undergo a state examination and must receive a state certificate before they can practice.

The great problems encountered by social work and social insurance today cause more and more active questioning as to whether such social effort is not withdrawing capital from economic channels and from reparations payments. To that question it may be replied that the necessary economic and social rehabilitation of Germany is only possible if the country is assured protection against the severe crises that result in want, unemployment and physical deterioration. The majority of the members of the German Republic would not if they could renounce or diminish their welfare program.

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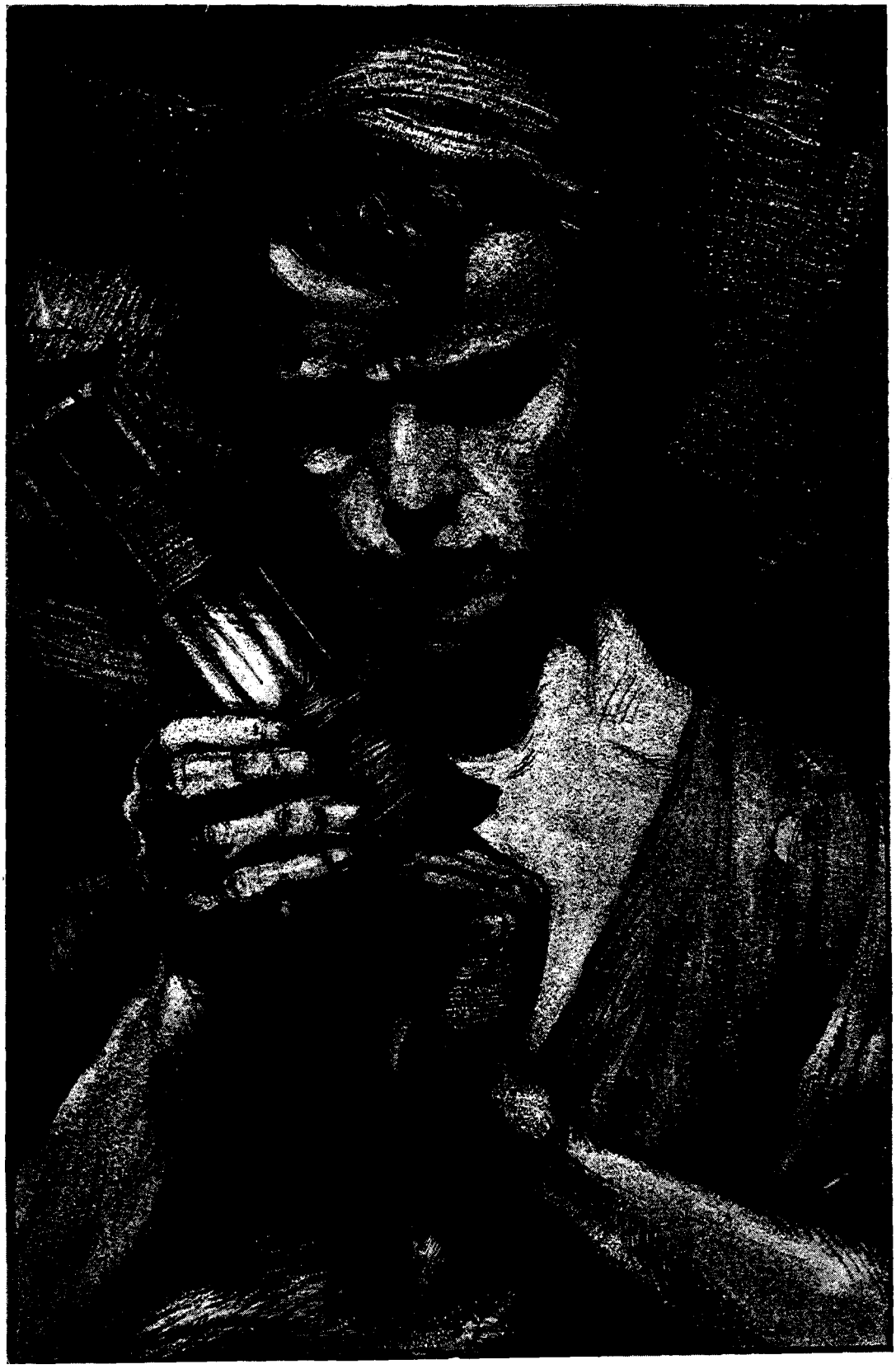

Young Miner with Lamp

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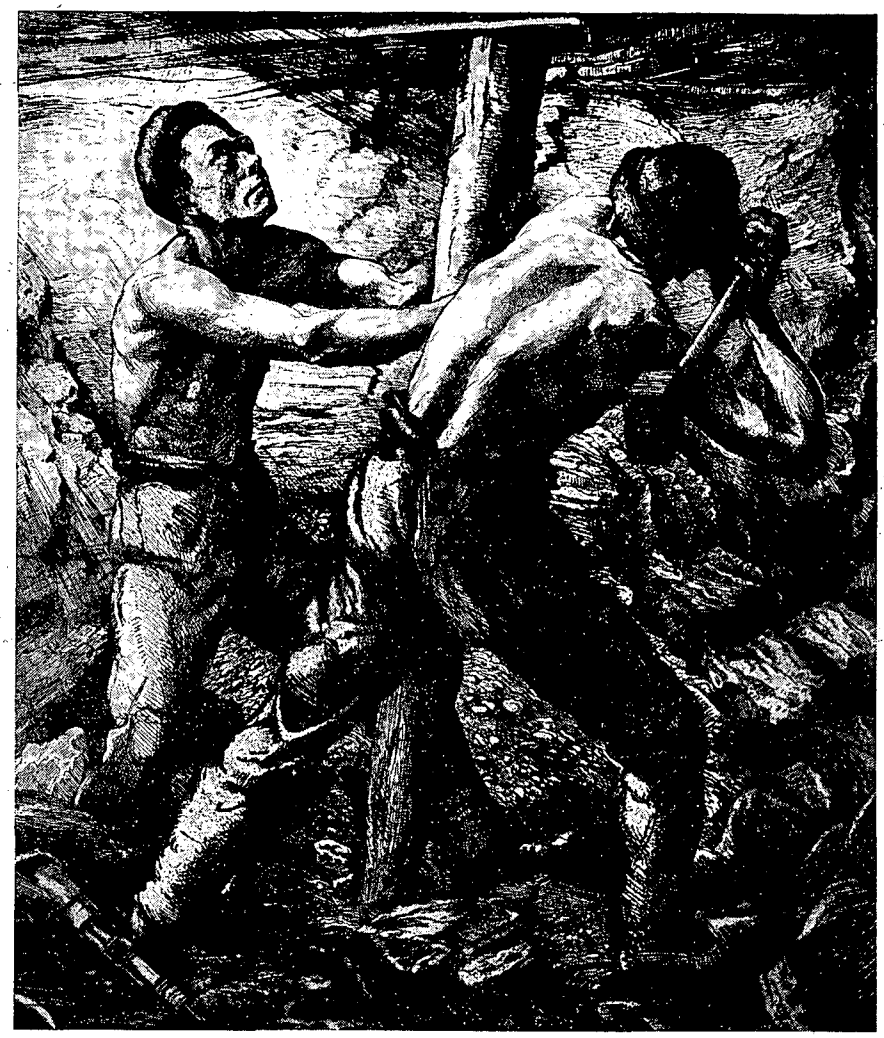

For memorial of "Vereinigte Stahlwerke"

THE three etchings on this and the opposite page are by Hermann Kätelhön of Essen, one of the most noted modern German artists of Labor. The one above was designed for a *Gedenkblatt*—a souvenir diploma to be awarded by the Bergbau steel works to employes for twenty-five years' continuous service. The other two are from his now famous collection, Arbeit (Labor), containing three folios, each of twelve leaves, etching, woodcut and lithograph; through which he portrays life and landscape in the industrial regions. To these which deal with the labor of man will be added later three interpreting the work of Nature.

Furnaces by night

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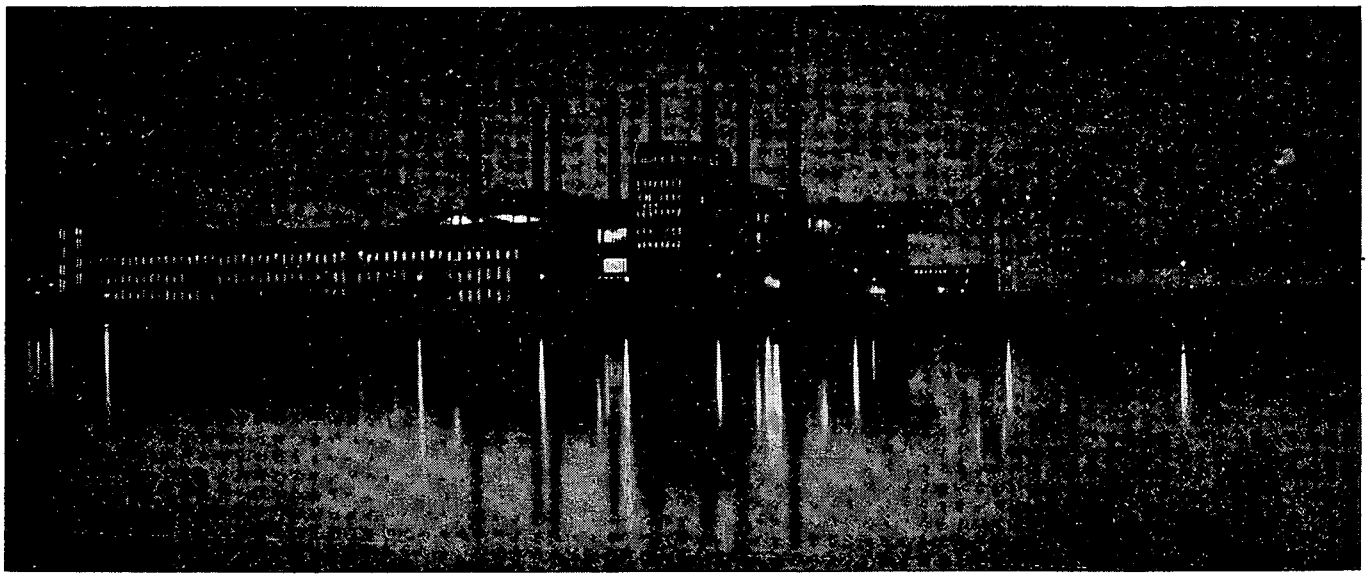

Post-war power plant that supplies current to Berlin; built by the A. E. G. in 1926

Outriders of German Industry

By PAUL U. KELLOGG

STEEL, chemicals, electricity—these were the young stallions which modern industry loosed to the old herds of the Four Horsemen. The stables from which they sprang had hitherto seemed fecund for human progress. They were tended not by night riders but by brief-spoken executives, absorbed laboratory men, skilled mechanics; by bosses, foremen, hands; drivers, sluggards, job-holders; church-goers, ne'er-do-weels, go-getters —just the general run of workaday humanity, whatever the names they were called, the tongues they spoke, the views they held; men (and women after their kind) variously bothered by weaknesses of the flesh and of markets.

Overnight, with the World War, the cries of the horseleech's daughters rang in their ears. Their quiet stalls changed to barracks champing with nationalistic energy. On land and sea, in the firmament and in the waters under the earth, their chargers went forth in milling droves to sustain each national cause. They went forth to maim and slay and rend and suffocate under their hoof-beats. Their every advance in the application of physical and chemical science to the service of man was turned to new and unthinkable tramplings on the bodies and spirits of men.

This was as true in England and France and America as in Germany, where Essen became the great arsenal for the central empires; where explosives and poison gases issued from chemical plants that hitherto had eased beds of pain and nurtured starved fields; where electrical works not only supplied motors and apparatus for transport, signal service and attack but became munitions factories.

This transformation had been anticipated and planned for—especially in Imperial Germany; just as "industrial preparedness" is urged upon us in the United States today. But not only did war in the end bring defeat to the old military order in Germany; peace brought the beginnings of a new political conquest for the German people. How then have they turned these great instrumentalities back to the service of life? How far have they harnessed them to their new carts of democracy? Stallions or geldings! The first question is one which inter-allied commissions have sat upon: the second will engage students of industrial relations for years to come.

IMAGINE some armored dinosaur in the dawn of time gorging himself on pituitary glands, swelling to gargantuan proportions over night, and then in a spasm, casting his huge shell and standing naked to the winds of heaven. There you have the fable of the Krupp works. Before the World War, perhaps a fifth of their operations were engrossed in the manufacture of arms and war materials, not alone for the Empire but for military establishments everywhere. For the rest, they produced in bulk the basic metal of modern civilization. With the War, this supreme arsenal of the German armies swelled to four times its pre-war size. With the Armistice, the bottom dropped out of work and livelihood for its 115,000 employes. For the time being, there was about as much use for the great war plant as there was for the Hindenburg line.

We may imagine our dinosaur, taking his cue from Neighbor Adam and his rib, and endeavoring to turn his own protean carcass to account by fashioning a heifer from his breast bone, a sheep dog from his ankle, an ox from his thigh. That is just what the Krupp organization set out to do. They scanned the market for lines which Germany had imported before the War, and set about making reapers and potato diggers, spinning apparatus, gears, cinema machinery. In the old days, the Krupp housing colonies had been famous for their neatness and order, and now along

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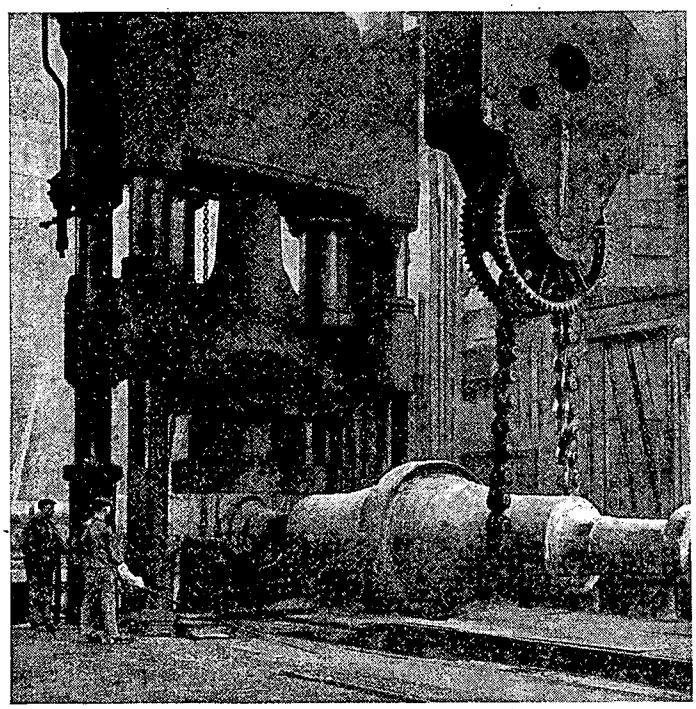
with their motor lorries, came street sweepers, street watering-carts, even a new dustless rubbish-removal truck. They tried six to ten things at once—twenty-three lines in all—anything to cut down the red on their ledgers and give work to idle machines and pay-less men. They pulled themselves up and out. But as time goes on, I take it, they will be relinquishing these makeshifts and centering on their engines, their steel ships, their new steel alloys and other great specialties. Their tungsten-carbon-cobalt-metal cuts like a diamond and may revolutionize modern machine-shop practice. Their rustless steel goes into everything from teeth fillings to surgical instruments. Centering above all on their prime job as makers of steel. I found them building a great battery of blast furnaces linked up with tilting open hearths so that the hot metal goes through to the ingot without cooling.

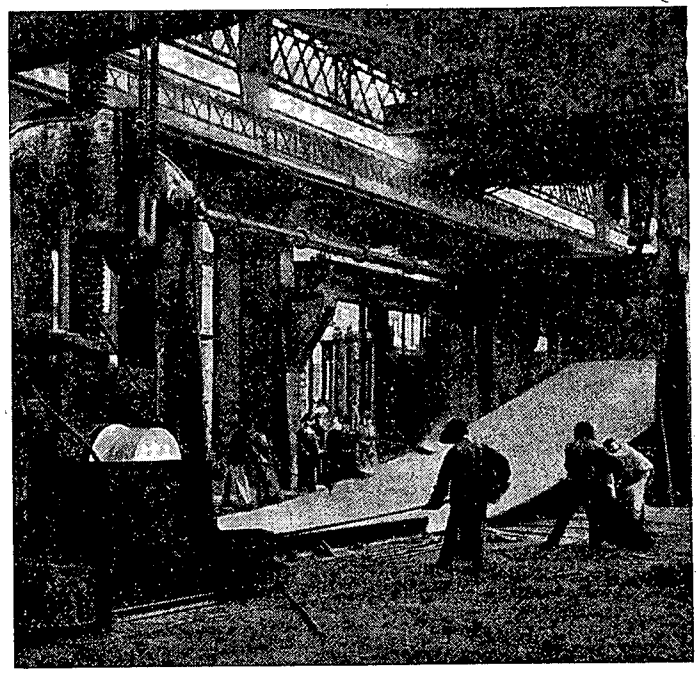
Twenty years ago, Henry Mussey and I were taken about Essen by a functionary with the distinguished front of a diplomat, who gave a wide berth to every location where real work was forward. Under the cloak of paternalism lay the shadows and secrets of the war system. Last summer, his successor, an ex-army officer who had lost an arm in the War, took me to every department to which I asked to go. That itself was a revolution. I was shown from the fuse shop (from which now issue cash registers) to the lofty structure where turrets for battleships used to be machined, now given over to forgings for dynamos, turbines and excavators. The special machinery which, for example, had turned out shells for the 77's (field artillery) had all been scrapped under supervision of the Inter-allied Commission, but standard machines could be put to peace-time uses; and where to draw the line had been the bone of contention. Two thousand machines totalling 12,000 tons in weight, 400 furnaces and installations, and 600,000 tools, were destroyed. I was taken to the section where the meager guns permitted the German army of today are renovated—a survival, like a rudimentary gill, in the organism of post-war Krupp's. Not far away were huge presses once used in forging the greatest guns, and now turning out the tremendous cylinders employed by the chemical industry for cracking oil, liquifying coal and gleaning nitrogen fertilizer from the air.

The Krupps were lame in turning to peace-time innovations such as agricultural machinery because their workmen were unskilled at fashioning the modern equivalents for plowshares and pruning hooks. Their engineers were used to designing cannon. But here the craftsmanship that had gone into the Big Bertha could be brought directly to bear on the huge seamless forged tubes and drums that science called for to put the latest discoveries of the German laboratories to work ahead of the rest of the world.

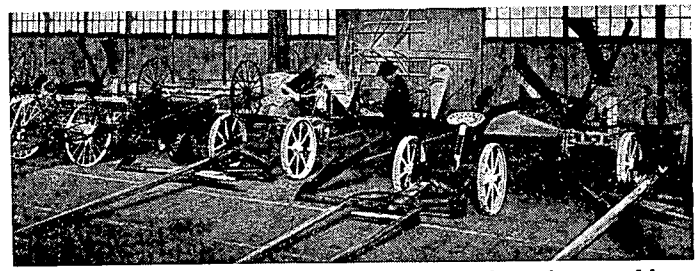
AS I recall it, Isaiah gave no instructions to the smiths as to how to recondition their anvils. That would have been a job in itself at Krupp's. But that was only the beginning of the troubles confronting the Krupp management They must have turned to Job for comfort, with the war market caving in under them in 1918, followed by the revolution and a red flag hoisted on their plant; then in 1920, the Communist uprising, and Essen taken over by a Red army; from 1920 to '25, the Inter-allied Commission, 1923-25 the French occupation, 1923 the inflation and the suc-



Hydraulic press formerly employed on heavy guns, now on forgings used in the chemical industry



Rolling mill; yesterday for armor plate, now for boiler plate



Shop formerly used for turning shells of medium caliber; now fabricating agricultural machinery

KRUPP'S TURNED TO PLOWSHARES MADE OF SPECIAL STEEL

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ceeding economic collapse. That among their workers were men whose fathers and grandfathers had worked for Krupp's counted. The works councils stood out against outside agitators in more than one crisis. And there is ground for believing that men all down the line helped their superiors in circumventing the rigors of the French embargo. This fraternity of spirit is, however, a different thing from the half-feudal pre-war relationships.

As I stood at the entrance of the Krupp plant, two gorgeously caparisoned officers snapped around the corner. "Here comes the old order," I cried. "It's last vestige," my companion laughed, "they belong to the fire department which kept its regalia." And we turned into a little bare office which was the plain setting for the new order—the rooms of the five men who on company pay put in their full time as representatives of the employes. There is the legal set-up of a works council (including the office force as well as labor), separate office and workers' councils—the latter with thirty members, and also, here at Krupp's, a representative from each group on the board of directors. Much of the real work of adjustment is carried out between the representative of the management assigned to this branch of administration, and the executive committee of the works council—two men from the office force (a draftsman and a bookkeeper) and three from the works (a roller, a machinist and an electrician), elected from slates set up by the unions. The chairman of the works council put the change to me this way:

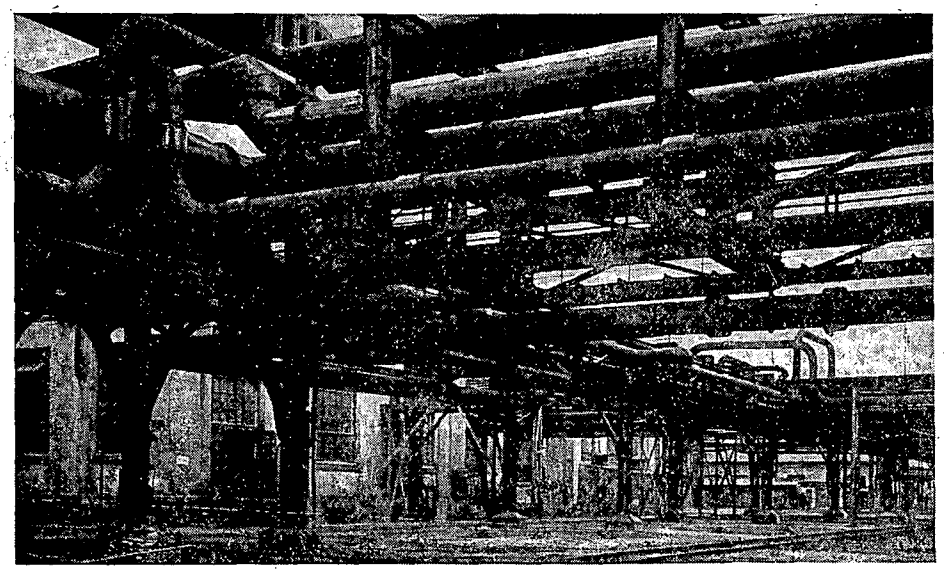
More rights and better opportunity to look after our interests. The employers used to make all the decisions in handling affairs concerning the works; now we share. We have a voice in the allotment of houses and lodgings. We have a hand in the application of piece rates under the district agreements between the unions and the employers' associations. We take up questions of dismissal, the prevention of accidents, and the adjustments of labor due to the closing down of shops.

During the last year, the most active question under discussion, he said, had been the working day in the metallurgical plants—the old clash between three shifts of eight hours or two of twelve hours. At the start, republican Germany had gone on the eight-hour day, but following the depression in 1923, some of the big steel plants had received permission to go back to two shifts. This fall, the eight-hour day was to be reinstalled, and the force of workers' opinion, welling up from the locals to the national union, had brought it about. Here was a stark contrast to the situation in the American steel industry, where the men are unorganized and had no chance to make their protest felt in the years that antedated the elimination of the long day by public pressure in 1923. Here was evidence of the new estate of the German steel workers and there was more when the employers locked out 250,000 of them in The Ruhr last fall (see Gavit, page 614), and the political Republic took its stand beside the unions and behind the new and less stable fabric of industrial order.

THERE were a dozen of us last spring, discussing the possibilities of this German number. It was an expert on international relations, as well known in Europe as he is in the United States, who rose to the query: how to visualize the German genius on the borderland of science and industry.

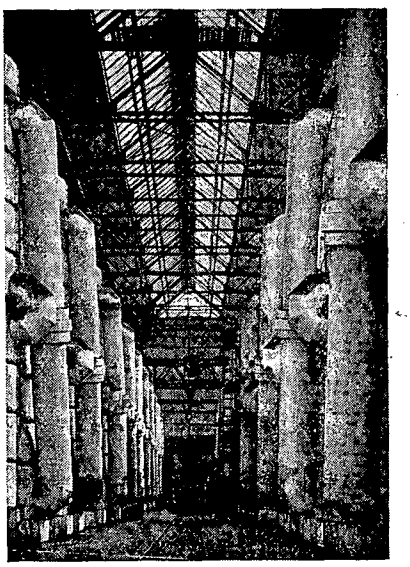
Will this do? [he asked]—a great plant on the Rhine laid out in blocks like city streets, streets named after the scientists of all time; barges bringing the raw materials to docks alongside—coal, pyrites, lime, salt. Each block a process by itself, breaking down the raw stuff, synthesizing it with new elements, refining it. Stage by stage it issues as heavy chemicals, as dyes, as medicines and reagents. At the far end, a museum of color, where every tint of the spectrum, as it has found expression in nature or has been captured by man, is gathered from the four corners of the world—ancient weavings and potteries and glazes, silks and yarns, leathers, jewels, crystals, pigments, the plumage of tropical birds, furs like Joseph's coat and the wings of moths and butterflies. And in the offices adjoining, one desk at which sits a man who invented a deadly gas; and at another the man who, after 204 unsuccessful attempts, discovered the cure for sleeping sickness; a work of hand which ultimately may more than counterbalance the other in the scales of life and death. And round about, parks, gardens, shaded streets and cottages for the workers, a community as deftly devised as the works itself. At the head of it all, the man who has made the one practical suggestion for an international control to curb a recrudescence of the chemical industry as the great scourge of war.

He spoke of Leverkusen—of the Friedr. Bayer & Co. plant; known perhaps best as the source of aspirin. He



GANGWAY FOR THE GASES!

Imagine block after block of city streets, with all their subterranean pipes exposed and elevated. That's Leunawerk at Merseburg



"KONTAKTWASSERSTOFFABRIK"

One little chapel in this cathedral of chemistry

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over-simplified, of course, but after a visit to the plant itself near Cologne, I could not improve on his description. Only amplify it.

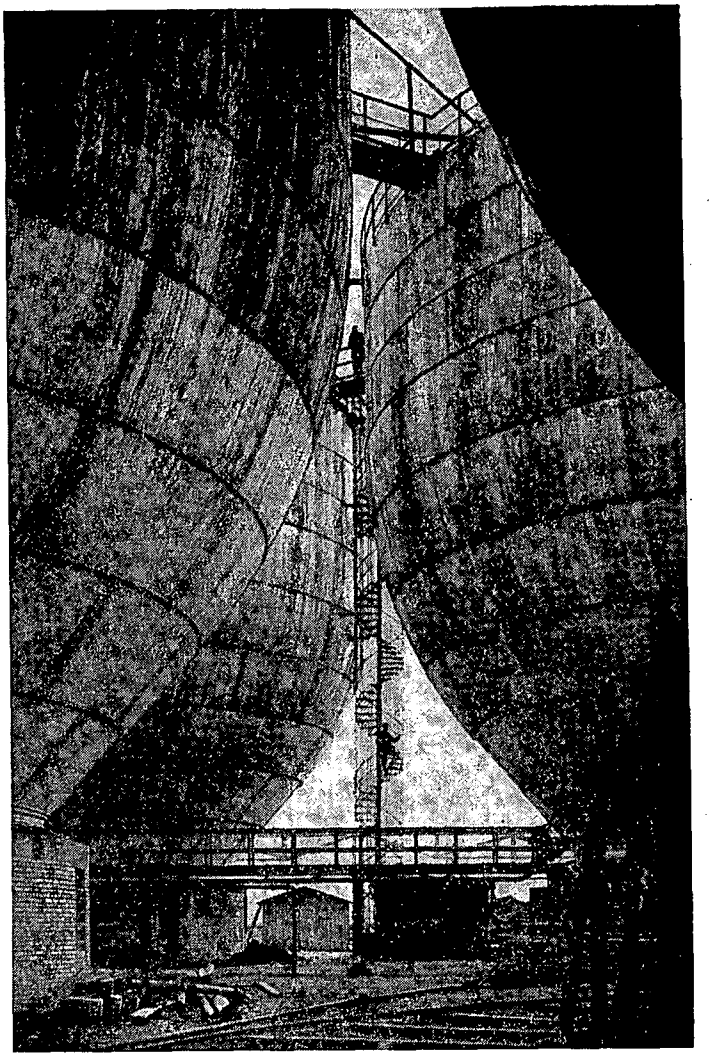
This was one of the German chemical concerns whose formulas for dyes, but not whose imaginations, we rifled so outrageously as booty of war. We would better have purloined some of its technique in protecting chemical workers from occupational diseases and accidents. Its labor relations seemed marked by the same infiltrating spirit, its old rounded scheme of welfare work adjusting itself to the rise of the chemical workers' union and the inauguration of the legal set-up of shop councils. Not without hectic strikes, however, during the inflation, but with fifteen hundred men who had been in the employ of the company for twenty-five years or more, the working force was shaken down to a nucleus who had their roots in the industry and who were willing to play the game of orderly progress. "If we did not have the councils," said the labor director to me, "it would be harder to get along. A radical sits in and sees reason when he takes his share of responsibility, working together day by day." Interestingly enough the chairman elected by the twelve thousand employes is a skilled construction man whose repair work had familiarized him with the lay of the whole plant.

The inspiriting force at Leverkusen is Dr. Karl Düysberg,[1] chairman of the board of the I. G. Farbenindustrie A. G., into which the Bayer Co., along with other big chemical concerns, have merged, and which today employs 120,000 men and controls 80 per cent of the German production.

LEVERKUSEN, town and plant, were laid out in the early '90's; there is mellowness about it and its human relations. Leunawerk is a war-time creation, new and raw as an American automobile factory, with a spick and span modern industrial town springing up at its gates. It is hard by Merseburg whose old houses cluster about a church that was ancient when Luther preached in it in 1545. It is on the road to Berlin and set among the wheatlands between Halle and Jena. More especially, it is surrounded by brown-coal deposits, and strip mines gash the fields and cut the ground from under villages.

It is here that another branch of the I. G. is, in the vernacular, turning air into fertilizer and liquifying coal into artificial gasoline. I have seen all manner of industrial plants treating vegetable and animal fibers, steel works that juggle with molten metal, paper mills that carry on with streams of pulp in solution. But this was my first experience with a great establishment which for the most part, from the raw materials to the finished product, handles the stuff it works with in the form not of solids or liquids, but of gases.

The plant is a whole city in itself, block after block of industrial shops, power houses, gas works, furnaces, pumping stations, store houses. Picture at one corner a convention of stupendous gas tanks; at another, truncated balloons only less huge, containers for ammonia liquor. Picture a battalion of eleven great chimneys (they are almost as high as the Washington Monument)—serving the largest steam-generating station in the world, its boiler houses extending for over a mile. Picture every known contortion



NOT A SCENE IN MARS

But just one group of containers among the tanks at the Leunawerk for ammonia liquor

of crane and carrier, tipple, elevator, oven, rifled from the property rooms of transportation, mining and milling; every variety of bin, tank and container, breaking the skyline with squares, cylinders, hexagons. Here a pagoda-like water cooler; there a silo for nitrate of lime that stands out like a great temple. Picture a town of these things, with its streets disemboweled, with sewers, water mains, gas pipes and conduits, from ten inches to ten feet in diameter, ripped up and elevated, weaving in and over each other at the crossways and carrying forward an unceasing traffic in steam, ammonia, hydrogen, gaseous combinations you never heard of. Meanwhile your eyes, nose and ears assaulted with overpowering shapes, with violent smells, with mechanical shrieks and groans that made a riveting machine seem folksy, and above them all a plume of flame where waste gases are burned from the torch of a high stack. That is Leunawerk.

Leunawerk was started in 1916 by the BASF (*Badische Anilin- & Soda-Fabrik*) for the production of ammonia, from which nitric acid could be made for use in explosives. But as the event proved, it was started with an eye to the future, growing out of the grim experiences of the blockade. Germany had no natural supply of fertilizer.

[1] It is not by chance that he is known as the "Father of Students," and has borne a leading part in the German Student Cooperative Association with offices in New York, which under arrangement with the U. S. Labor Department sends groups of young engineers, chemists and the like, to this country to spend two years studying American industrial methods while working their way.

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No oil wells. Before the War, the country imported 800,000 tons of saltpeter which yielded 120,000 tons of nitrogen for replenishing soils. Last year, this company produced 700,000 tons of nitrogen. And if anticipations are realized, the new synthetic gasoline will in time make the Reich independent when it comes to fuel for motive power. They were producing one hundred tons a day last summer and expected an output of three hundred tons by the first of the year.

The nucleus of the staff and working force were brought here from the mother works at Ludwigshafen and it is from the great laboratories there that the scientific discoveries of Bosch, Haber, Bergius and others come which are put into production by the operating staff at Leunawerk and at Oppau.

In the air we breathe, oxygen and nitrogen are mixed like peas and beans in a sack—not a chemical combination. The nitrogen is inert, an old bachelor, if you will. Heavy pressure, the warmth of high temperatures, flirtatious catalysts, and a minuet of chemical procedure have to be employed to break down his aloofness, couple him up with other elements in an unstable molecular companionate marriage, from which he can be wrested for the ultimate purposes of—husbandry, i. e., fed to growing vegetation. Hydrogen from water is the matchmaker in this wedding of air and soil. Hydrogen and oxygen are present in combination in water. In the process at Leunawerk, air and steam are passed over the coke of black coal in a water-gas producing plant. The oxygen combines with the carbon and makes carbon monoxide, which next has to be eliminated. This is converted with steam into carbon dioxide, which is in turn removed from the gas by submitting it to the pressure of 25 atmospheres in a compressing plant, and washing it with water which dissolves the CO_2. The hydrogen and nitrogen gases are thus freed. They are thereafter compressed and catalyzed under 200 atmospheres pressure at a temperature of 600° centrigrade. Part becomes ammonia [NH_3] and by further treatment the crystals of ammonium sulphate [$(NH_4)_2 SO_4$]—a general fertilizer.[1]

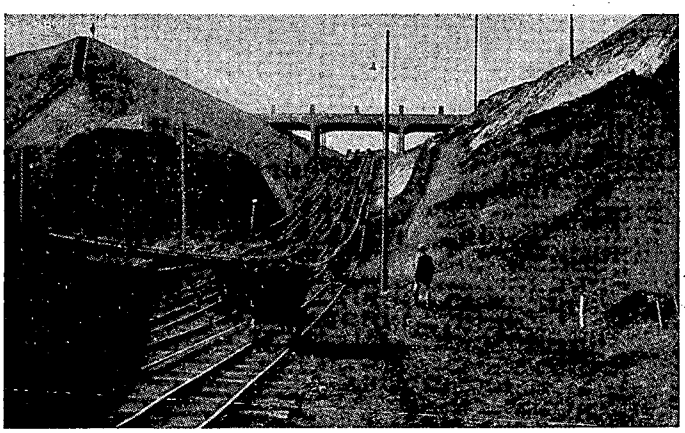
Leunawerk is the largest nitrogen-fixation plant in the world. What this means was spread before me when, after interminable stairs, we came out on an overhanging balcony that looked into the cavern of such a silo as the world has never known before: as big as the new Madison Square Garden, and four times as high, half filled with a glacier of white fertilizer. The cattle of a thousand hills could not have matched it in a year.

LEUNAWERK is the first plant where, in this motor age, synthetic gasoline is produced commercially. Some of the steps in the process interlock with those in the fertilizer production. Gasoline is the trade name for motor benzine which is a mixture of low-boiling and high-boiling hydro-carbons. To achieve a substitute for what the geologic ages left us, brown coal is dried and powdered at Leunawerk, and mixed with a heavy oil in a cylinder by means of iron balls. When heated to 100°, this porridge becomes fluid enough to pump and is brought to 500° temperature under 200 atmospheres' pressure in forged-steel ovens where it is liquified with hydrogen. These are the cylinders which grew out of the great gun barrels at Krupp's, about four feet in diameter, and eighteen meters long, two of them buckled together upright, encased in steel sheets, and located in concrete chambers four stories high. There are eighteen of these chambers, each enclosing two of these double-barreled guns. Even as peace-time utilities, they are ugly playthings. One hundred and fifty ton cranes run along the block of chambers to work the installations. The valves are operated by "cooks" in a detached building where for safety the controls are located. The tops of the chambers are open, so that in case of explosion, they go off into the sky. The heavy oils can be used over and over again, and the product goes to the testing plant; thence to a distillation building, which looks like a half-completed skyscraper and is open on all sides to guard against disaster; then to the tanks.

This is the only plant in Germany where the fine brown coal from the strip mines is handled without compression into briquettes. It is lifted to a tower, pulverized and dried so that its water content is reduced to 15 per cent—supplying fuel and the raw material for both the fertilizers and the new gasoline.

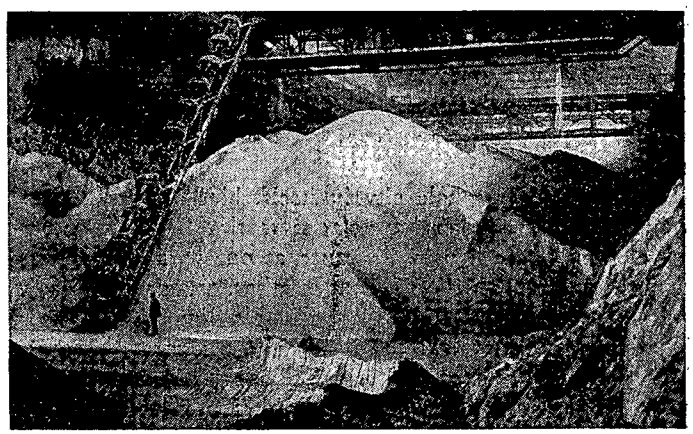
In its raid on the sky above, and the bowels of the earth beneath, Leunawerk is also as thirsty as all Berlin, and uses as much water in a day, though it can use it over and over. The fifteen tons of (*Continued on page* 612)

[1] The technical reader is referred to Editorial Impressions of Technical Progress in the German Chemical Industry, by H. C. Parmelee, Chemical & Metallurgical Engineering, McGraw Hill Co., June, 1928.



YOU BEGIN WITH BROWN COAL

One of the open pits near Merseburg from which come fuel and raw materials under the new regime of science



AND END WITH NITROGEN FERTILIZER

This great silo at Oppau is eclipsed by the stupendous one at Leunawerk. Everything is handled by machinery

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Uncertain Future + Jolty Past =

By WHITING WILLIAMS

AT FIRST glance, the Ruhr last summer appeared unbelievably different from the days in '23. Then sullen and badly clothed coal-miners and steel-makers slunk past the bristling bayonets and barbed-wire entanglements of French soldiers in city squares, forlornly bare of traffic. Instead, dignified, well-dressed men and women, rayon-stockinged flappers, hurrying autos, glistening new white-and-gold tram-cars, rushing trains—these, last August, were substitutes for '23's long cues of distressed women and children waiting hours for daily bread or milk!

At the cleanly employment exchanges, the *Arbeitslosen* waited, this last summer, with plenty of dignity and self-respect, to register their unemployment—in place of the mob of hungry and excited wage-earners who, five years ago, were forced to gather in some secret courtyard to receive a little depreciated currency—*provided* the funds got safely past the spies and cordons of the French army of occupation.

Certainly a huge improvement. Yet nothing is surer than that the Ruhr of '28 is considerably less different from the Ruhr of '23 than at first appears. Prosperous they are now, to be sure, but it is a prosperity disquietingly thinned on both its under and its upper crust by several uncertainties of the future as well as various over-certainties of the past.

"Many of my friends have work—and thank the dear God for it!" the young miner explains today, as he waits his turn to register his joblessness. "But they worry almost as much as I. For nobody knows how long the reparations tonnage will last—and no man dares hope soon again to have the big orders we got while the English were on strike!"

AT the moment, unfortunately, German and British competition punishes the miner much as does our own union and non-union warfare: as rapidly as the British lower their foreign quotations, German coal is offered just that much lower—with that much more pressure to decrease wages. And at present the day, though much discussed, is altogether uncertain when some sort of international cartel will stop the conflict—and the pressure—peacefully.

"If only we Germans could know," so an older miner later voiced another uncertainty, "just how much reparations we must finally pay. Supposing we work hard, will it not merely increase what will be demanded of us?"

Until this uncertainty is ended, of course, such an institution as Krupp's at Essen finds it hard to plan just how to build its present force of 30,000 up to anything like the old war-time strength of around 115,000 men. For nothing less than the markets of the entire world, including America, must be entered if so huge a plant is to be busied with orders, not for the forbidden guns or tanks, but for steamships, plows and harrows, locomotives, trucks, typewriters, etc., etc.—not to mention that more recent invention by which thousands of the workers can now speak proudly of their newly crowned teeth as "Steel by Krupp!"

THE equation of a working future filled with so many unknown quantities would be bad enough on top of even a rosy past and present. But unfortunately these unknowns have to be faced by workers who have only lately come up after two terrific blows administered by Germany's post-war Fate—blows which might be called a Left followed by a Right—first, that is, the uproar and overturn of the revolutionaries in '18 and then the inflation charged against the reactionaries in '21-'23.

BETWEEN CARLOADS

Lithograph by Willi Borutta, from The Life of the Miner
Galerie Flechtheim, Berlin

Both these two blows struck home too deeply to be forgotten soon. In '23 I was glad of the darkness which hid my eyes when we talked things over down 1,600 feet below a Gelsenkirchen tipple a few miles outside of Essen.

"No more can I go out upon the streets!" exclaimed the youngest. "My last good shirt is finished!"

"With me," retorted the oldest, whose grizzly beard quivered in the light of his lantern on his knees, "with me it is a question, not of going on the street, but of coming here to work! Each night my wife drops tears as she tries to make this, my single pair of pants, last one day more!"

"Well," went on another, "my own wife went yesterday to tell the clerk she had finally the sixteen million marks demanded for the shoes she wanted for me.

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And when he told her the price had gone to twenty million marks in the two hours since she looked, the poor woman just wilted down on the floor and cried!"

Closely tied up with such memories are those days when the radicals held sway. For '23 helped '18 and '20 demonstrate the thin white line 'twixt order and chaos whenever hunger gnaws:—

"So when it occurred to us," explained a conservative old Westphalian laborer, "that only this pane of glass kept us from food for our starving families, we pushed it in—you see, don't you, we *had* to in order to keep our self-respect! And then it went loose; the firing—and the killing—began!"

IT is all these new uncertainties and old fears combined, I say, which dilute that layer of apparent prosperity. Perhaps the German temperament takes such things more seriously than we—it was all so unexpected and illogical.

"When the revolution broke out in Russia," one old fellow explained, "we Germans smiled and said to ourselves: 'It will never reach us: we are too orderly!' And then a year later the same thing was here! Unbelievable!"

"Perhaps all our troubles," pondered a husky but thoughtful Christian Socialist in '23, in one of those long discussions below-ground—because the inflated money became so valueless that work for it all but stopped—"perhaps they're all because the dear God up there saw us Germans growing too proud. Perhaps we shall never be happy again until we have a humble and a contrite heart!"

But, after all, such puzzling phenomena are likely to be taken seriously when such ponderings are sure to be broken in on as were these:

"Ha!" shouted the vibrant-voiced Communist. "Your dear God is much too busy with his angels to bother about you or me. So it is for us to take these murderous German capitalists and their hired French, and throw them all into the sea!"

Seeing that today the Communists are still the fourth largest of the fifteen and more parties, the possibilities he suggests have continually to be kept in mind even by the most conservative and sedate of the middle and upper classes. It was one of these who lately explained the situation of literally millions of his fellows:

"Yes, on my salary, I can get along. Still, I find it hard to sleep nightly. For my unemployment insurance is hardly enough to meet my situation comfortably and—and it, I regret to confess, would be all if I lost my work. You see, just before the inflation, all the savings of my life to date were, according to law, in the national savings banks—and there, of course, they proceeded to depreciate into thin air!"

SO it is altogether natural that this combination of fearful past and uncertain future should make Germany's present elaborate set-up of industrial compulsion and social insurances appear a complete necessity, not only for the protection of the workers, but for the very safety of the Republic. Minimum wages, employment bureaus, shop committees, insurance against accident, sickness, joblessness, old age or other disability, etc., none of these—so German worker, German legislator and German citizen would all agree—could by any means be left to the good-will of any employer or to anything else than the blanket compulsion of nation-wide legislation.

Nevertheless, no American but could wish that, without lessening the indispensable worker-security, more possibility might somehow have been worked out for the workers and the managers to get together in the interest of a larger measure of worker-opportunity. Surely any outsider is unlikely to wonder whether the present legislation does not serve unduly to set government down as a third party in between the managers or owners and the workers, and so to make extremely difficult all such mutual understanding as might enable these two most interested groups to tackle, together, the purely modern problem of getting higher wages along with lower labor costs—a problem vastly pertinent, of course, in a country which, like Germany, must continually bid for foreign contracts. Instead of helping higher wages or other gains from the wider margins of the newer mechanical productivities to be offset by man and manager cooperation, it looks as if the legislators had felt that the old class gulfs, in the interest of proper worker and public security, must be made more than ever permanent and unchangeable.

THAT German industry itself is puzzled by its present situation in this regard was indicated by the frequency of this query:

"Here we have invested millions of marks in your American machinery—along with what we understand are your American ideas of planning, routing, etc. This machinery we run at practically the same number of revolutions per minute as you. Nevertheless, we do not get your American results in output. Why? What's wrong?"

It looks indeed as if the purely legislative approach there had suffered one of the defects generally imputed here to federal prohibition—namely, that too much dependence had been put upon fiat and too little on mutual understanding and education.

Because the German employer feels that the workers have scared the legislators into "putting it over" on him, he is apt to consider himself justified in taking advantage of every loophole overlooked by the lawmakers. As it was with us during the War, his cooperation with the legislated shop is as likely to be more apparent than real. He is too likely, also, to believe himself justified, if he can get away with it, to hire younger women to fill the places of the older ones for whom a higher wage has been made universally compulsory—unless perhaps he can gain an even greater advantage by discharging all workers just prior to the day when their insurance becomes obligatory.

Still more serious, as well as more general, is, apparently, the belief that, minimum wages having been made so high, the cost can legitimately be offset by paying the highly skilled man an amazingly small differential above the level legislated for the unskilled. As a matter of fact, even where the individual employer might like to adopt a plan of generally higher remuneration, he would need first to obtain such governmental permission or aid as would make the change general throughout the district. Indeed it is claimed by many employers that the union leaders themselves look with disfavor upon raises by individual concerns!

BUT far be it from me to give the Germans a preachment! Rather it is a case that calls for prayers—and cooperation. For the only thing that could possibly make worker-opportunity appear to them even half as worthy their attention as worker-security would be enough years of peace and prosperity to lay the twin ghosts of Fear and Uncertainty. And to that end we and our tariff could doubtless help without hurt to (*Continued on page* 628)

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A German Employer Takes Stock

As Recorded by RODERIC OLZENDAM

I INHERITED the business which bears the family name, from my father; he from his father, who founded the company. I accepted not only the material but the psychological attributes of the business; the policies which had guided them were good enough for me. Our failures are not peculiar to Germany. I have not found employers in any country furnishing the same caliber of leadership in the human phases of industry as in the financial and mechanical aspects.

IT is quite clear to me now that the military mind of stern discipline by no means confined itself to the army. To a considerable extent German industry was owned and operated by men from the so-called "better families," men who like myself had been trained as leaders in the imperial army. I was a colonel under the Empire. We thought the army the best in the world; therefore army methods must surely be sound for industry as well. I am now sure that this type of discipline cannot be permanent; the military approach is not the natural approach. Permanent success can come only on the basis of a rational understanding of human nature. Repression now seems to me to be against human nature. Non-recognition of the laws of human nature must inevitably breed distrust, hatred, fear and industrial war. I find that, since 1920, Germany, England, Belgium, France and Canada, for example, have lost 600,000,000 working days as the result of industrial war. We have just seen the signing of the Kellogg Peace Pact renouncing political war. One of these days we will show industrial statesmanship, and outlaw also industrial war.

There are thirty-six rules and regulations governing work in our factory. We must have laws to guide our joint actions, but if I were an alert, enthusiastic apprentice entering the gate of the factory for my first real job, and came face to face with all these "forbiddens," any budding spirit of cooperation within me would wither and die. We tell our workers in great detail what they must or must not do, but I fail to find any printed material telling them that the success of the business depends upon the efforts of all of us, no matter what the job.

I have been trying to imagine the thoughts of one of our employes with a family of five who has lived under military rule, who knows what a lost war means, who has experienced a revolution, who knows what it is to starve and see his wife and children hungry, who lost his small savings in the inflation, who has lived through "the occupation." He saw a government set up which he thought might bring about better things for him and his mates; a government which passed laws designed to free him from many of his greatest worries. Still the cost of living rises; the world is none too friendly; wages seem so inadequate; the "forbiddens" face him on placards and in pamphlets wherever he works. On top of it all, the reparations—don't they mean that he and his fellow-workers and their sons must toil all their lives on that account? Even the joint committees which were to raise his status and give him a business man's chance to help, have largely failed to function as he hoped.

WE employers (in every country) took the wrong road half a century back: We took the road designated "mechanical," and overlooked the other marked "human *and* mechanical." With all our mechanical and financial and organizing genius, we failed in the leadership of human beings.

If employers the world round had put as much brains into planning and performing in the human field of business as we have put into planning and performing in the financial, production, technical, inventive, and sales fields, our so-called "labor problem" would be practically unknown and one of industry's colossal wastes would be reduced to a minimum.

Our workers are human beings, not machines; yet I have to confess that I have always regarded the men and women whom we employ (there are 10,000 of them) as *only* workers. From now on, I shall drop that disparaging word "only." There is dignity in being a worker; there is degradation in being "*only* a worker."

When we failed to provide natural human leadership, other men, more human than we, hearing the just appeal of the workers for shorter hours, more pay, better working conditions and more security against life's major risks, saw their opportunity. They offered the leadership in human matters that we had stupidly withheld.

We have deliberately persisted in keeping both eyes on the machine. It seems to me now that it was a natural consequence that trade unions came to be; that Karl Marx did some thinking and some writing; that Bolshevism was proclaimed. Why? Because these men were attempting to furnish the vital human leadership which my father and grandfather, and now I, have not furnished.

HIGH time it is for us to find out more definitely what makes the leadership of the world's various "isms" so potent to sway men. These leaders have made a lot of rash promises and have built up highly impracticable theories about which I am sure they are not at all certain themselves. There is always a class of people who are malcontents, who listen to every siren voice. These have constituted a percentage of the followers. But in spite of all this, I am bound to acknowledge that sincerity of purpose, honest conviction and real cause for complaint seem to have actuated millions of the average men and women of the world.

I have a reputation among my friends in business for possessing common sense. As a good business man I am going to accept from these various "isms" what seems to me to be right and sound. I have decided on the truth of some contentions. I shall endeavor to (*Continued on page* 621)

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Friedrich Schmidt, Average German

By Baron HEYNO von MÜNCHHAUSEN

LEAVING home in the morning to go to his office, Friedrich Schmidt draws a cigarette from his pocket. His matchbox, however, is empty. There is no other smoker near, but a cigar store right across the street. He steps in, says "Good morning," and "I only want a light; may I have one?" The tobacconist thinks Mr. Schmidt's behavior extremely odd, and bad manners as well; the thing to do would have been to buy some fresh cigarettes and matches; at the same time it would be quite proper to get a light.

Before the revolution, such misconduct would have been impossible. Yet, as he has been asked politely, he cannot but comply. What would he have thought, said, and perhaps done, had Schmidt just stepped in as you do on 42nd street, without asking lighted his cigarette from the lamp, and walked out again without so much as "How d'ye do?"

But Mr. Schmidt wouldn't have done that! There remains, subconsciously, a lot of the war-time and inflation-period respect for the shopkeeper; remaining from that time when, owing to the scarcity of goods and the dubious value of money, he was grateful to the merchant who sold him anything at all! And, before all, has not yet lost enough of the deep-rooted German instinct for discipline and organization to expect the shopkeeper to give him service without compensation as a matter of course. That tobacconist is playing a clearly defined part in the community: His job it is to provide the smoke for a mass of cigarette lovers. Mr. Schmidt never could understand the American retailer's way of looking at the proposition; his readiness to give each of his individual customers "service."

AND who, anyhow, is Mr. Schmidt? Little more than nothing—that is, until he has reached his office. Once he is seated at his desk, he has become an important person in an important enterprise.

To get to that place where he feels that he is somebody, he takes the street-car and enjoys his smoke on the platform. After a few minutes, he throws the cigarette stump away, goes inside—as he was smoking he could not do so before—and unfolds his newspaper. That paper has a much more pronounced political stamp than ten years ago, and he gives some attention to the sayings and doings of the party leaders. Then, with more relish, he turns to the news and to the serial. He likes the crime news, but were he able to read an American paper every day he would soon get sick and tired of the volume of it.

Mr. Schmidt has not quite finished his paper when the car arrives near his office. So he tucks the sheet away for further reading, gets off at a regular stopping-point (he would not want to risk a fine by jumping off in advance of it) and enters the "shop."

HIS eight-hour day allows him a few minutes now and then when he can think, and he does so occasionally—*very* occasionally. Today he is pondering that his boss is a *man*. The idea has never occurred to him before. Hitherto he always has thought of him as the head of a big enterprise; never as a human being. He had for him that old-regime reverence, such as was felt and shown toward an army officer on account of his uniform. But the last ten years have wrought a change: he is at last beginning to realize that there is such a thing as *independent personality*, and as this is one of his bright days he goes one step further and notices that he himself also has the rudiments of individual character. And that momentary realization is a small but strong root which will, in time, develop him as many of his countrymen have developed since the revolution. He shall become one of the many who will no longer accept the tutelage that arises from the old habit of "the authorities" to "think for the public." He will want to think for himself, and he will be a molecule in that body which already is bringing about the dissociation of the words "German" and "verboten" that have long been synonyms to many minds. When, and if, that body becomes strong enough, Schmidt may live to see the bulk of police regulations, government proscriptions and the like that tend to restrict personal liberty, already greatly diminished, dwindle to that small volume which is necessary but sufficient. Why, even now he discerns some small steps in that direction. A few months ago, the minister of the interior informed all government employes that they were servants of the public; that visitors were to be treated with politeness and diligence!

BUSINESS hours near their close, and friend Schmidt gets matter-of-fact again. He is not doing overtime, and he calls himself a fool for the many evenings he sat at long hours—before the revolution. His is no longer the idea that the boss, the charwoman, and he, are all working to further the business. He retains his estimate of himself as a wheel of the social machine, but as such he does his work and wants his pay. However, he has not yet come to realize that he is effecting a business transaction—in our capitalist terminology, giving the commodity, labor, against the means of commodity exchange, money.

At his customary saloon he gets his pint of beer and asks the keeper to charge until the first of next month.

"These are rotten times we live in," he says to his friends with whom he always chats for half an hour or so; "I used to have my two or three glasses, but the price of beer is twice what it was, and then I am smoking more cigarettes than I used to, and we go to the movies once in a while. I must divide my pocket money accordingly."

AROUND the middle of the month, he still was a wealthy man. So he invested part of his fortune in a ticket to the boxing-match which is held this evening. He gets into an awful crowd near the stadium, but there is no yelling or jostling. People all have their elbows close, as if packed in wadding. There is something in discipline anyway! That crowd is going along slowly, but surely; everybody has the space he needs and asks no more. The whole

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affair is as quiet and well-behaved as a Sunday-school. True, a newspaper reporter who is just passing him and has to get through quickly, must shoot an occasional quick joke at an objector to get past: before the revolution, his press card would have been more than sufficient to open an alley.

At last, he reaches his seat, pretty far back from the ring, and he remembers with complacence the years before the War when show-boxing was forbidden altogether. To his neighbor he mentions with pride that Germany came out fair second in the Olympic games.

"Why," he says, "at the beginning of the century when I was a kid, father would not allow me to go and swim or to join a football team. We did not have the money for the expensive and fashionable sport of tennis, so, my father said, 'If you want exercise, go and take a walk.' That one weekly gymnastics lesson at the college was not enough for me, so I used to go to a sports field and do some work there. When that was discovered, I was almost expelled from school. You can't imagine how I envied the children next door. Their father was a Turner, and like many others he used to do gymnastics with his children every day. Well, I am pretty fit, but what would I—and all the others that finished school before the War—feel like if we had had the opportunities my children have: a football and track and field club not far away, and a gymnasium five minutes from home. No wonder our country can show a half a dozen short-distance runners of international class at the same time, when all the youngsters are allowed to run, jump, and swim to their hearts' content and drink as little as they do. Look at our results in Amsterdam!"

FRAU SCHMIDT is an old-fashioned woman—they married some time before the War—and is quite willing to let hubby run the family. But she scared him a year ago. There were general elections, and for the first time she refused to vote for his party! It had taken her nine years to draw that conclusion from the universal, individual suffrage by the new Constitution. Well, it was a stormy affair; Herr Schmidt felt that what his mate was doing was entirely out of order; but it did not break up the family. In most cases among their married friends, man and wife give allegiance to the same party and as a consequence there are few discussions on the matter, and as they did not want to differ too much from their surroundings, the Schmidts decided they would avoid political discussions.

At that time, Schmidt asked a younger friend what he did when his wife refused to agree with him politically. He got a pretty plain answer:

"Why, Schmidt, you are living in the dark ages. Don't you realize that a woman has the same right to her mind that you have? Women have come into most all of the professions; during and shortly after the War, they even did man's work. The Constitution has given them equal political rights. The stipulation that a wife is to follow and obey her husband has been taken out of the marriage formula. And you want to tell me you think it wrong when dear Mrs. Schmidt once in an eternity develops a mind of her own?"

Probably Schmidt did not entirely grasp the meaning of that post-revolution message. Full comprehension of equal rights of the sexes, of the new-day sense of personality, is beyond the limitations of the "lowbrows" of his generation.

The biggest and most far-sighted thing that ever was done in Germany for the mental liberty of its citizens—the working out of the Constitution of the Republic—has provided a frame as yet too big for the picture, and there are, to be sure, some defects in that frame. But as a whole, it is beautiful, and there is no objection to offer to what is going on: Slowly, the picture is developing and growing more and more into its *cadre*.

Schmidt may never quite understand it. But his younger friends do. They also, perhaps, are not able to give a satisfactory definition of what has developed. They may lack the words. But they have the spirit.

Strasse (street), by Hermann Sandkuhl, Berlin. In the exposition of modern German art, Düsseldorf, 1928

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The Football Player

Among the younger German sculptors Renée Sintenis has a distinguished place for her fine animals and bronze athletic figures such as the Football Player, shown above through the courtesy of the Weyhe Gallery, New York. She is herself an example of the modern German woman who loves the out-of-doors, as is indicated by the powerful etching of the head at the left, a self-portrait, from the collection of Otto Lambert, New York.

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"The Gold Mine of Germany"

By JOHN PALMER GAVIT

AN ANCIENT castle, crag-topping like an eagle's nest in the "Saxon Switzerland" thirty-five miles east of Dresden—Conrad Hahnevald, the happy-faced *Burgwart* (castle watchman) in charge called it "the largest hotel in Germany." The day I was there they were preparing to feed and shelter, at a cost of something like seven cents apiece, upward of twelve hundred *Wandervögel*—hiking youth of all Germany. Medieval Schloss of Hohnstein, rejuvenated at public expense, it typifies the new Germany's deliberate recognition of Youth and the universal devotion to out-of-doors exercise. And it is only one of more than twenty-three hundred such places, scattered all over Germany in expression of a general policy; outgrowth of the Youth Movement.

The Youth Movement—you cannot get a definition of it, because no two persons, even participants in it, see it alike. According to point of view, it is a blessing or a peril; in temporary eclipse, disintegrating or dead; or more alive and influential than ever. It is an esoteric cult, a group of organizations, a revival of lost virtues and delights, a social and governmental policy; a regenerating spirit regardless of age—a social yeast. It is a threat against order and morality, a sinister revolt to be suppressed, a great and useful power to be harnessed. . . . Anything you like and a dozen other things, good or ill according to your type of mind. I choose to regard the Youth Movement in its largest significance, as the life-principle, the hope and promise of the New Germany; to envisage it as a thing far larger in scope than any of its forms. Dr. Becker, the progressive Prussian minister of education,[1] recently spoke of it as "the gold-mine of Germany."

So far as Young Germany is concerned, the world-wide "revolt of youth" is the revulsion of the young-minded and forward-looking against the dull and futile materialism to which the Western World so largely has surrendered; the method and policy by which a nation trying to come alive again amid the ruins of its former existence is seeking to repair the havoc into which the stupidity of the older generation allowed the world to drift.

OF many Germans I asked this question:

"Just when did you first begin to realize that Germany could not win the War?"

I got many kinds of answers; you can imagine most of them. The most startling you will not expect any more than I did. I got it only once, and from a young man who spent four years in the trenches on the western front and was both wounded and gassed:

"It was early in 1915. It came to me quite suddenly that whether we were right or wrong—waiving any judgment on that point—God would not allow us to win. We had grown too gross, too fat, too successful in material things. Victory would enthrone our autocracy, our arrogance, and the price would be our spiritual death."

I was catching my breath from this astonishment as he added:

"You will remember what happened to Rome when the people turned into pigs. We were in that danger; but God put us, as I thought He would, through the fire of defeat, and now there is hope for us. Your country—the same danger; but I do not know how the fire will come to you. It must come somehow. Otherwise . . ."

THERE are various versions of the beginnings of the Youth Movement, in the restricted sense of the term. Several men are mentioned as having instigated it—among them Karl Fischer, a teacher in a *Gymnasium* (highschool) in Steglitz, a suburb of Berlin; Richard Schirrmann, of Gellsenkirchen in Westphalia. I suspect that the movement broke out in various places about the same time in the mid-nineties. It embodied spontaneous inchoate revolt against two things: the stiff traditional formalism characterizing

[1] See his article, page 584 of this issue.

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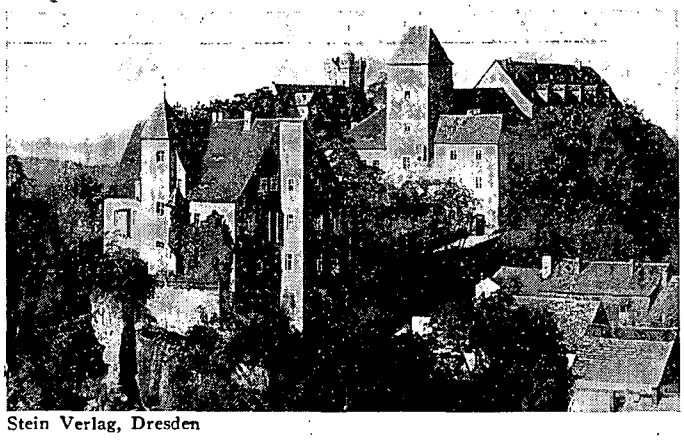
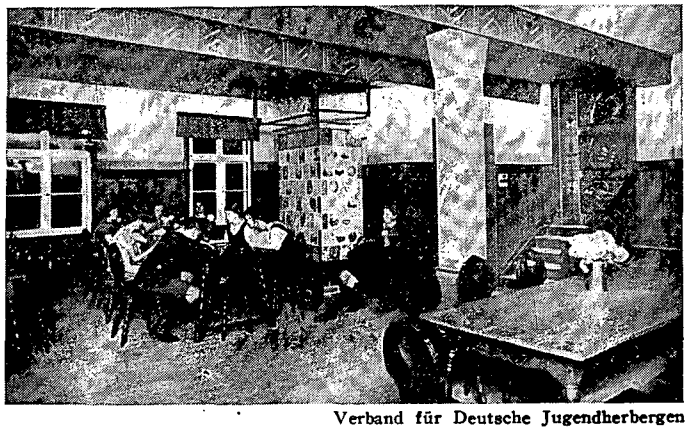


Stein Verlag, Dresden

The castle of Hohnstein

German education generally, and the social and industrial conditions producing dirty, noisy, congested cities and artificial, machine-made life. Groups of young people broke out into the country in search of freedom.

What we know as "hiking" was no new thing in Germany; from time immemorial every normal German has been by instinct and habit a lover of nature and a *walker*. So far as I know, this was the first time that long tramping expeditions, Sundays and week-ends at first, growing into months of nomadic wandering, became by intention not only part of a definite educational effort; not only rebellion on a large scale against a whole system of life, but something in the nature of a religion.



Verband für Deutsche Jugendherbergen

Hohnstein: in the day-room

A cult. Within a few years the informal groups had gained a name, a kind of ritual, a uniform, a more or less definite technique. And both immense popularity and disapproval.

The name, *Wandervögel*—"birds of passage"—in its original significance did not refer to mere wandering about the country; it meant that the wearers of it had cut loose from fixed abode and traditional habits; from all the characteristics of modern civilization. They adopted a costume —of "shorts" and open-necked shirts for the men and simple one-piece dresses for the girls; they let their hair grow and walked with bare legs; some with bare feet. They adopted a jargon of new words. They slept in tents, in barns and ruined castles, or under the sky. They cooked over open fires, scorning as "technical" even spirit-lamps. As one of the veterans of the movement described it to me:

"We had no constitution or anything of the sort. We refused to adopt any policy about anything. We desired to be free of all rules, even our own.

"We cultivated a new feeling toward nature; we broke with all the things of civilization. We sought to make a new kind of men—especially of German men.

"We discovered the hidden human body, and desired to rescue it from the domination of false shame. We desired a new relation of the sexes; a real companionship of equals, and that marriage should be of *free* men and women for a life of comradeship. *Gemeinschaft*—I think the English tongue has no real equivalent—"

"Fellowship, brotherhood, unity of the spirit?" I suggested.

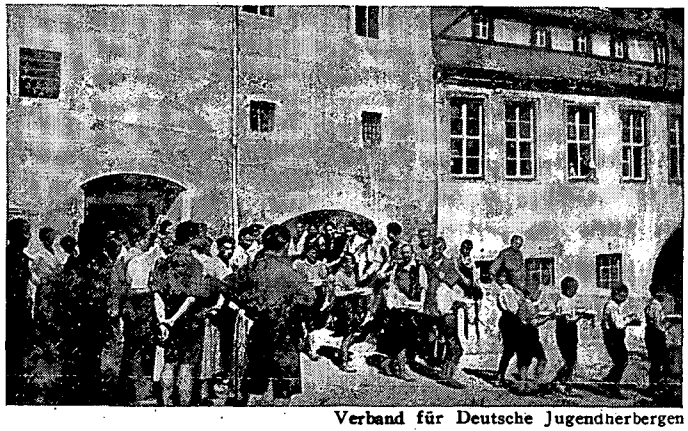
"Yes, all those, and something more. If you have it you know what it is even if you have no word for it."

SOME of the groups were exclusively male, and definitely anti-feminist. Many of the older adherents say that the degeneration of the Youth Movement began when young women entered it, softening by a seduction the asperities of its self-imposed discipline.

Thousands espoused the movement; it spread in some measure over most of Europe. Characteristically it was revolutionary, anti-imperialist, anti-bourgeois—fundamental enemy of the current middle-class society everywhere. But inasmuch as it neither advocated nor committed any form of violence, nor preached any definite schism, nor proposed any new kink of religious creed, government paid scant attention, and the churches had difficulty in formulating objection to a movement whose central themes were sincerity and frugality.

It was in no definite sense pacifist—many thousands of *Wandervögel* fought and died in the World War, as officers and in the ranks. Its ideal was that of physical strength and perfection as consequences of right physical living; tobacco and alcohol were taboo for that reason and also because those unnatural vices smelt of the repudiated civilization. It was interested in intellectual and cultural progress outside of the current "rationalization" and artificialities which cramp and stupefy the soul; but simon-pure *Wandervögel* objected to typewriters and machine-printed books. It revived the old folk-songs and dances, and affected the lute and other primitive musical instruments. In almost any group of *Wandervögel* to this day you will find at least a guitar.

IT was inevitable that with the scornful abandonment of other conventions, those affecting sex would suffer. There were scandals—not so many as you would expect—and more or less exaggerated tales of a breakdown of



Verband für Deutsche Jugendherbergen

Dinner-time at Hohnstein

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morality. Perhaps it was this as much as anything that led Pope Pius X to oppose the movement; there was plenty of Protestant disapproval as well. Neither was effective; the impetus was too great; the justification of the movement was too real, the roots of it too deep. The thing could not be stopped by direct attack. The next Pope, Benedict XV, himself an out-of-doors man, walker and mountain climber, was more liberal, and wiser. His policy, so often practiced by the church of Rome, was that of toleration, capture and control.

That happened which always happens to popular movements. The free spontaneous spirit fell under the crystallizing spell of the organizers and rules-makers, and began to make a shell for itself. The Youth Movement was smothered in popularity, and for good or ill lost most of its primitive mystical character. For the most part its pristine quality was absorbed into a mass not vastly more revolutionary than the Boy Scouts and Campfire Girls of the United States. Also, the pioneers of the movement were getting on in years, and it takes more enthusiasm than most people have to keep on in this world deliberately with sincerity and frugality as youth subsides.

Aufnahme von J. Gross

Run of the gold-mine

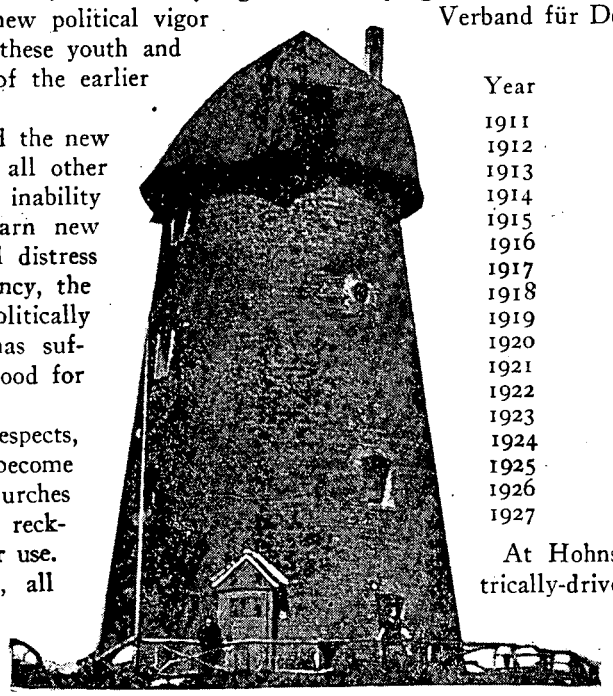
In the year before the War (1913) there were upward of five hundred local societies of the *Wandervögel,* under various local and group names. The whole outward paraphernalia had been taken over. Anybody who went out into the country to take a walk was likely to don the hiker's garb and be dubbed a *Wandervogel.* The municipalities began to provide shelters (*Herbergen*: old German for inns) for the hikers, in abandoned market-buildings, old cloisters, habitable parts of ancient unused castles; even an old windmill and an obsolete light-ship.

Then came the War and its decimation of youth. Out-of-doors bodies and abundant young energies are indispensable army-stuff!

OUT of the disaster came the survivors, determined to help in the restoration of the Fatherland. They began to mix in politics; much of the new political vigor in Germany has its impetus from these youth and the surviving revolutionary spirit of the earlier days.

To be sure, political activity and the new outlook has had to contend, as in all other countries, with the reluctance and inability of stolid old political dogs to learn new tricks. Moreover, in the financial distress attending the collapse of the currency, the younger men had to get jobs. Politically speaking, the Youth Movement has suffered disillusionment, and that is food for radicalism.

Nevertheless, in all outward respects, the movement has continued; has become again a vogue. All parties and churches have recognized it as a thing to be reckoned with, captured and tamed for use. Catholic and Protestant churches, all the important political parties, especially including the Socialists and Communists, have taken advantage of it and organized their groups, varying in color from the Catholic "Quick-born" (from the German *quick*: a spring) and out-of-door Bible-classes of some of the Protestant churches, to the youth-groups of the extreme radicals. One night in Berlin this summer there was an evening of out-of-door folk-songs and oratory in unison, of the Socialist young people, and later in Dresden I was held up for nearly an hour by a great parade of them in connection with a two-days gymnastic festa representing all Saxony. And anywhere you go in Germany, especially in summer, you see these groups trudging along the roads and over the mountains, singing as they go; or sitting under the trees discussing the matters and intentions of the young-hearted.



Verband für Deutsche Jugendherbergen

The old wind-mill in Münsterland

THE encouragement of this movement in all its implications has become a business of government. Providing and equipping of shelters has continued with increasing elaboration, until now, scattered all over Germany, there are nearly twenty-five hundred of them. Here is the tale of the progress, in official figures, published this year by the Verband für Deutsche Jugendherbergen:

Year	Youth-shelters	Over-night guests
1911	17	3,000
1912	65	11,000
1913	83	21,000
1914	200	17,000
1915	200	10,000
1916	200	13,000
1917	200	9,000
1918	200	19,000
1919	?	60,000
1920	700	186,000
1921	1,200	506,000
1922	1,400	1,074,000
1923	1,700	935,932
1924	2,100	1,100,000
1925	2,100	1,423,181
1926	2,283	2,159,204
1927	2,318	2,655,292

At Hohnstein I saw a fine modern electrically-driven cooking equipment preparing that great dinner. So much for the movement which in early days could not tolerate a spirit-lamp!

This is not all. In the federal

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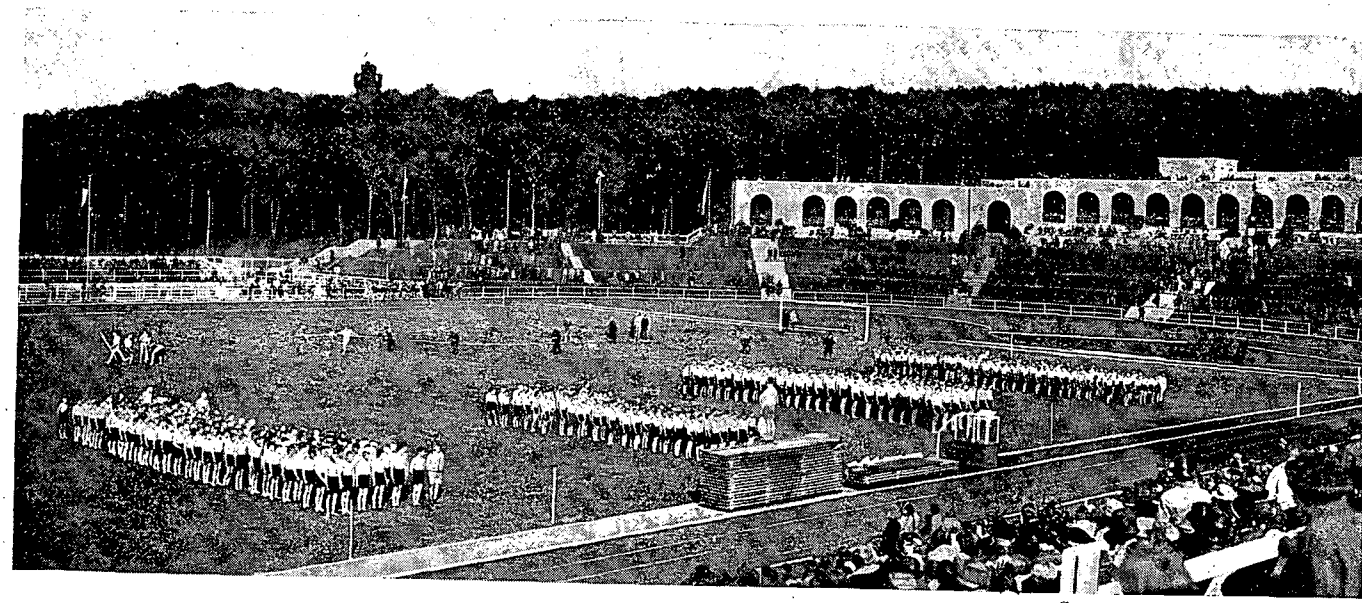

Courtesy of the German Railroads

Stadium at Frankfort on the Oder

government, and in that of every state, is a department devoted to the "interests of youth." Their activities are various, but all to the same end—that of upbuilding the new generation incessantly emerging and bringing out-doors-trained life into the blood-stream of the nation. At Dortmund in the Rhine steel-district, I saw a big traveling exhibit called Young Germany which, starting last fall at Berlin, is moving from city to city, stopping for weeks at a time, this year at Leipzig, Hamburg, Hannover, Dortmund, Nürnberg. By models, charts, pictures, figure-groups, etc., the needs of sound physical life and useful education are graphically set forth, with emphasis upon the rights and perils of childhood, the dangers of too early and excessive labor; the necessity and the joy of out-of-doors recreation. To groups of children and parents, lecturers dilated upon these things. All this a definite new activity of government.

OFF the same piece: the organized devotion to physical culture—it is hardly too much to call it a German obsession. Athletics always was a German specialty. More than a century ago, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (you will find his name, by the way, on a pew in the old St. Paul's church at Frankfurt, among the distinguished attendants upon the revolutionary Assembly of 1848) organized the *Deutsche Turnerschaft* (the German Gymnastic Union); its purpose to further the preservation of the German people by physical training. Out of it grew the wide-spread interest in competitive sport; but always the Germans have stressed the matter of physical preparedness, not only as a part of military training in a whole people armed for nationalistic purposes, but as a prerequisite to competent individual life.

The War stripped Germany of its athletes generally, and especially of those equipped to train others. Along a thousand miles of battle-front, Germany's best of physical manhood died or was irremediably crippled. It was in the nature of things that first and deepest into the hell-fire should go those best fit to carry on the athletic tradition.

IT was characteristically German that among the problems first confronted was that of the restoration of the German physique. As for material for rejuvenation—those now between fifteen and thirty were the children who especially suffered from war-privations and the effects of the blockade. Virtually no home escaped. A rich man in Hamburg told me that he could observe the increasing effects upon his own children; suffering actual hunger to the point of physical injury.

"I had money enough," he said, "but there was no food to buy with it."

I had the same story from dozens of others. There was an appreciable diminution in the average stature and general vitality of German children after the War. To a prominent psychiatrist in Berlin I remarked upon what I thought to be a general characteristic of the children playing in the parks—an unnatural quiet, a solemnity, a strained, "anxious" look.

"Do I imagine that?" I asked.

"No, it is true. They bear the marks of inadequate pre-natal metabolism of their mothers during the 'starvation period' of the War and the inflation:

Courtesy of the German Railroads

Swimmers at Starnbergersee

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probably of insufficient nourishment for themselves; and of the anxiety and uncertainty saturating their home atmosphere. Children are unconsciously very sensitive to atmosphere, and Germany is a pretty anxious place, and will be for a long time to come."

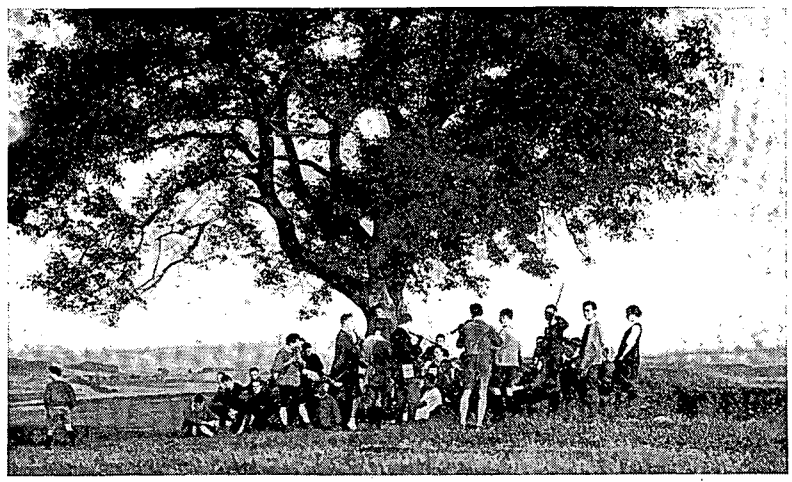
Wilhelm Limpert-Verlag, Dresden

Young amazon—German style

FAR more than before the War has physical training become a matter of public policy. Army and police—even the aviators under privately owned corporations—devote greater attention to it even than formerly. Aside from that, which is natural enough in a country more or less completely disarmed, in every part of Germany government has definitely taken on the subject of recreation and physical culture. It is now provided by law that municipalities large and small must provide athletic fields, swimming-pools and other facilities for physical culture. Some of those already constructed are extraordinarily fine. The stadium and Sport Forum at Berlin are models; not less so is the great stadium at Cologne, where this summer was held perhaps the greatest *Turnfest* in German history—the first really old-style meeting since the War.

But equally notable is the opening of colleges for the training of athletic and physical-culture teachers, and for the teaching of sports. Leaders with university status are turned out at the end of a three and one-half years' course, and are rapidly replacing the generation of such leaders which was destroyed in the War, or now getting too old for this strenuous occupation. In those schools, at a very low price, one can be taught all sorts of sport, from skiing to tennis, from boxing to football. And passing almost any sizeable town in Germany one can see from the train windows the municipal playing fields or perhaps the swimming-pool, where the New Germany is trying to restore the vigorous physical development wasted on the battle-fronts.

ADMIRABLY satisfying in its detailed description of this whole movement in latter-day Germany is a book, hot off the press as these words are published: Leisure and Its Use, by Herbert L. May and Dorothy Petgen. (A. S. Barnes & Co., New York. $2.00 postpaid, of Survey Graphic.) It is the report of an elaborate survey of phases of recreation as carried out in France, Germany, England, Belgium, Denmark, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria and Italy. The section on Germany describes in detail not only the general recreational and physical-restoration movement in Germany, but the legislation in the various German states by which it is supported. The eighty pages of the German section will admirably supplement this present article.



There was something almost hysterical about the joy with which Germans of all classes hailed the news that their athletes had won second place in the Olympiad at Amsterdam this year. They were content to have "shown" at all in the competition. To them it signified that Germany in one of her own ancient specialties was "coming back;" they keenly relished this symbol of restored neighborship.

"Perhaps you do not fully realize," said a German to me during the *Turnfest* at Cologne, "the service that international athletics renders to the cause of international peace and good understanding. We are going to Amsterdam to the Olympics for the first time since 1912. I hope our young men will do well; but I am content that they are back again in the kind of competition of which all peoples can be proud, and which leaves no world-ruin behind."

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Our New Ideals

By Dr. C. H. BECKER

Prussian Minister of Education

EDUCATIONAL ideals are the expression of national self-appraisal. A prosperous nation is not easily inclined to alter its methods of education. If this is true of a whole people, it is also true of its component classes. Reforms are usually instigated by those who believe themselves deprived of their full rights in the existing order.

It will be easily understood then, that in post-war Germany, questions of education have stood in the forefront of public discussion. The old state and nation having broken down, the class which had hitherto governed was made to surrender its power to a new authority arising from below.

In the old imperial Germany much doubtless had been achieved for the development of schools and universities. It was commonly believed that in respect of her educational system Germany was second to none; and indeed as far as intellectual and technical training was concerned, this was probably true. But perhaps too great emphasis had been laid on this purely *intellectual* training, while the importance of developing social, emotional and physical qualities was underrated and neglected. Throughout the whole structure of our social system, there ran a utilitarian motive, an over-insistence on technical efficiency and specialized function. This persisted as much in the parade drill of the army as in the minutely organized mechanism of the civil service, and permeated both elementary and higher schools. The purely human aspect was left out of account and the fullness and harmony which ensue from its cultivation were lacking.

THE immense disaster of the collapse naturally led to a severe scrutiny of our own system; for the victor nations possessed systems of national training which put greater faith in the development of *individual character and of a social sense,* than of purely intellectual qualities. To be sure, criticism of this one-sidedness had not been absent from pre-war Germany, but such ideas could not make headway because the nation as a whole was convinced of the unsurpassable excellence of its educational system. In particular the gulf between the elementary and the secondary schools was regarded as unbridgeable as that which divided officers from their men in the army, and the higher from the lower officials in the bureaucracy.

RELEASE of these ideas was first made possible through the collapse of the old, rigid caste regime. The Socialists and Democrats demanded not only political equality for all, but the granting of opportunities for the cultural and economic advancement of able members of the poorer classes. The natural inequality of men would remain, but economic and political barriers should no longer prevent gifted citizens of any classes from developing and exercising their talents in the service of the national good. The lack of educational opportunities was felt to be a greater hardship than economic restriction. Accordingly the first step in the reform of our educational system was the institution of the *Einheitsschule* or universal school. This does not mean a mechanical wiping out of all differences, nor the adoption of one single educational plan consisting of elementary school, intermediate school, and secondary school, but the creation of a common "foundation or basic school" (*Grundschule*) with a four years' course, attendance upon which is obligatory for *all.* In the future every German child will attend the same public school for four years. Only after that will it be possible to choose between *Volks-, mittlere,* and *höhere Schule;* and even then there are innumerable facilities for transfer from one to the other type, so that even those who attend the *Volksschule* can pass on to eventual maturity for university study.

FAR more important than these changes in the external structure of the school system are the inner reforms which have been introduced in the very aims and methods of instruction and character training. Above all the attempt is being made on every hand to combine with the schooling of the intellect an even development of the soul and the body and thus to train harmonious and well-balanced personalities. No over-emphasis of athletics, no predominance of religious, artistic, emotional or social elements, and above all no exclusive training of the intellect; but all these things combined and carefully balanced with one another; for the development of human beings who will appreciate not only the advantages of knowledge and clear thinking, but also the gifts of religion, of art and organized human society, as well as the blessings of a well-trained body, sound and handsome. Out of the depth of our national consciousness arises a new conception of the "ideal man," not unlike that of the ancient Greeks, but not growing out of an *aristocratic* culture foreign to our own, but surrounded by the *democratic* and *social* ideals of a "culture of work," such as is demanded of us by the present-day world. The democratic doctrine of the freedom and equality of the individual is here enriched by the principle of subordination under the common weal and cause, which everybody, in his place and according to the measure of his ability, is in duty bound to serve.

This, however, is possible only if education is governed equally by the spirit of individualism and the spirit of collectivism. These two tendencies are by no means incompatible; on the contrary, they supplement each other. As regards *individualization,* the German school no longer tries to cram a definite amount of fact-knowledge into the pupils' minds, thus practicing, as it were, a sort of educational militarism, but it sees its main task in developing the *creative* faculties of the child. The aim of German education nowadays is not the drumming in of the subject-matter prescribed by the curriculum, but the unfolding of all the valuable special gifts with which nature has endowed

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the individual child. With this end in view, it is necessary that the teacher be allowed a free hand; he is no longer tied down to minutely specified curricula, but is merely expected to follow certain general guiding lines that are given him. He no longer inculcates facts, but allows the child to manipulate and investigate independently the subject-matter which he has carefully chosen and laid before the child. That is what we call instruction by self-activity (*Arbeitsunterricht*).

TO prevent this method from resulting in an overrating of the individualistic elements and from creating a new sort of egoism, it is supplemented by the *social* method, which uses the entire school organism and the enforced subordination under the school discipline as a means of accustoming the future citizen of the republic to the idea that his private affairs must never let him lose sight of the common weal, and that he himself must share in the responsibility for the organization and government of the state. The guiding principle in this connection is: *From self-respect to self-administration.* Thus the child and adolescent boy or girl will not only be educated for his own personal benefit, but the republic will be supplied with a stock of young citizens in sympathy with the form of the state and ready to assume their share of responsibility.

What the new school aims at is not cut-and-dried routine, nor drill, but the unshackled development of individuals who are conscious of their own worth, and at the same time prepared, through insight and systematically formed habits, to participate in the affairs of a democratic world of individuals and nations. Thus it is hoped to give rise to a new generation of free men in a free state. Self-respect, however, does not only lead the way to recognition of the rights of others and to harmonious cooperation within the confines of the nation, but it leads beyond the consciousness of nationality, however vigorously that may be felt, to a recognition of the greater community of nations and of the solidarity of all human interests as a whole. The last and most exalted educational ideal which stands before the future citizen of the German Republic is that of *"Humanity"*.

The Release of Education

By Dr. ELISABETH ROTTEN

RAPID technical changes during the last decades have created all over the world new forms and possibilities of human interchange. Competition has made possible these outward changes; yet the same spirit of competition has brought world war and social chaos. Everywhere there is longing for a shift from competition to cooperation, from the worship of material values to a spiritual revival and for new, fruitful, and direct human relationships in *all* fields of life.

It is more than a mere longing for a "new spirit that will create all things new." The finest men and women in all countries of the world feel the responsibility and opportunity of our generation and those to come. Living forces everywhere seek new forms from within, doing justice to the individual and at the same time binding all efforts together in a common endeavor. Will they win? Or will the destructive and oppressive forces, through competition and the "survival of the fittest," prevail? Where will those turn who have not yet taken sides, who do not feel what is at stake, who prefer trotting along in a customary way, blinding themselves to the dangers facing them and their offspring to taking the open risk of trying a new life?

MANY feel that indifference and inborn conservatism are a stronger obstacle to the coming of a new age than are ill-will or honest scepticism. How may we overcome such indifference? We may, through silent action from man to man, pave the way for a genius who may be able to incite mankind for a new ascent. But while this is a matter of faith, we can actually do one more concrete thing to let the desired change of attitude come within the reach of every one: We can try to create institutions which by their very nature and existence, and if backed by the right personalities, will emanate good-will, strong enough to form part of every day's environment and to inspire those who need a strong impetus from without, or a constant unconscious influence through circumstance, to be carried along.

Will these institutions have to be political or educational; or, if both at one time, where is it more important to push in the present crisis? Will not new political institutions be dead unless the population has been educated to give them their real meaning? Will it not be too late if we wait for education to prepare the atmosphere for what is so urgently needed?

These questions will never be solved in theory nor, luckily, is it necessary to decide them in the abstract. The individual will have to see where lie his strongest responsibility and capacity. In a general sense, events will decide.

IN the European countries there is not much choice, and all the less, the deeper they have been hit by the War. They have to found new political institutions, such as the League of Nations, and new or improved constitutions or laws to establish social justice and active cooperation. This would seem a hopeless or almost superhuman task to fulfill within one generation, unless, under very adverse conditions, pioneers with a vast vision had for a long while quietly and persistently worked to open minds and hearts to ideals of which the majority was still unaware. In the Russia of today the thoughtful observer will trace, somewhat under the surface, but distinctly, the influence of what Tolstoy and others have disseminated. The change of an autocratic and militarized Germany into a democratic republic and a peaceful member of the League of Nations becomes less gigantic and more organic, if the onlooker perceives something of the undercurrents of idealistic movements that have never ceased to spring forth from what is best in the German nation; though during the decades before the War, other forces shaped the surface of things. Last, but not least, of the school system.

THE obvious changes in that system since 1918 are not merely the outcome of the political revolution. This event rather meant the great opportunity to try in action,

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and to gain the support of public opinion of, what had been asked for and tried in private enterprise during the period preceding the War. There was much educational enthusiasm in Germany while in 1919 the new Constitution was forming in Weimar, and when in 1920, largely owing to influence of the Youth Movement, a great federal educational council (*Reichsschulkonferenz*) was held in Berlin in the halls of the Reichstag. It was convened by the government and attended by about seven hundred delegates of all shades of opinion and all ages, including representatives of the upper grades of secondary schools.

If the paragraphs on education in the Constitution of Weimar, the recommendations of the *Reichsschulkonferenz* of 1920, and the very definite new regulations as to school organization and curriculum are in some respects far ahead of the actual changes in the spirit of the schools, particularly the higher schools, this is no wonder—it is only natural that the process should present itself somewhat differently in life and on paper. The passive resistance of traditionalism is now felt more acutely than in those days of new hope and sudden uprising. Yet those innovations were not casual; they responded to very deep currents within the life of the nation, and they will be persistent, though the process of full realization may be slower than the enthusiasts desire. Both characteristics, the inner strength and consistency of the movement towards freedom and cooperation, expressed in new forms of education, and the inherent impediments to quick realization must be kept in mind in reading this necessarily brief survey of the achievements and aspirations within the German educational system since 1918.

THE Constitution has a general paragraph on education, stipulating that in all fields education shall be inspired by love of the German people and a spirit of "reconciliation between the nations." There is so far only *one* more definite paragraph on the schools in the Constitution, educational legislation being a matter of the individual German states forming the imperial federation. This one paragraph however is a great step forward towards a true democracy. It concerns the *Grundschule* or foundation school, a public elementary school for the first four years of school age, compulsory for all children without class distinction and doing away, until 1932, with all private schools for that age (with rare exceptions of such schools as have a very special value as extraordinary educational experiments). This has the immediate advantage that for at least four years of their lives *all* children will have mixed with other children of very different home background. It should have the further result that in time the period of four years in common will be prolonged to establish the *Einheitsschule* (unity school) which the *Reichsschulkonferenz* advocated and to which the different new state regulations rather timidly allude—a school which will under one roof give educational possibilities to children of very different capacities and future vocations and yet unite them frequently for play and in subjects and crafts which they may have in common in spite of early differentiation. It should, finally, in the long run have this one and lasting effect: that the people of intellectual, social and political influence, be they common-spirited or not, will have a personal incentive to make these public schools so good and progressive that they must have no hesitation to send their own children there—which will mean that the very best will be none too good for *all* the children of the nation.

THERE are no nursery schools in Germany. Kindergartens are mostly of private enterprise, apart from the *Grundschule,* but a connection between these two stages of education is being attempted. They are the stages which are undergoing the most fundamental changes within the whole system. The Froebel idea for a period had been kept down and almost turned into its contrary through standardizing both methods and material, and ending in drill. There is now a strong movement towards freedom and more natural growth of the young child, partly under the influence of Montessori, and partly as a Froebel revival, grasping the spirit and adapting it to the findings of modern psychology. In the *Grundschule* the most striking changes have taken place, owing to the great interest of elementary teachers both in educational and social reform. In many schools of that type happy groups of young children will now be found, moving about freely and with no set study-plan, under the guidance of an understanding teacher. The regulations would allow still more progress than there actually is; many teachers do not care to change their methods and still prefer drill and outward authority.

It is much more difficult to introduce reforms in the way of self-discipline and self-activity; freedom in curriculum—leading to a more modern and democratic outlook in the secondary schools which lead to university at the age of eighteen or nineteen. They are still strongly under the influence of our universities and their conservatism. While a reform of the training of elementary teachers with the aim of giving them a more thorough-going education and a scientific outlook is on the way—less academic and approaching the real life of the nation and the common goals that lie before it—it is still to be achieved; yet it is strongly demanded and felt necessary in many quarters. If it is true that at the universities the old spirit still prevails to a great extent, it must also be said that there are two currents among students which in time will bring about a notable change of general attitude. One is the Youth Movement with its ideals of self-responsibility, of tolerance in spite of diversity of opinion and of constructive effort towards new forms of life. The other is the "work-student movement," started largely

(*Continued on page* 628)

Playmates, a pastel by Heinrich Zille, Rembrandt-Verlag, Berlin

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In the Quakers' Footsteps

By HANNS GRAMM

OF all the promises held out by the framers of the Constitution of the newly born Republic, least possible of realization seemed that bespeaking for every German child physical, moral and social efficiency. The exhausted country sadly lacked the very fundamentals of normal child care.

Picture a territory smaller than the state of Texas, part of it mountainous and yielding reluctant crops, crowded by more than sixty million inhabitants, hermetically sealed from the rest of the world for a period of four years; its population working at the highest pitch of physical strain and nervous tension to ward off military defeat—with this picture clearly in mind, little need be added to explain this grave situation throughout Germany in 1918 and the years following.

Even before the War, and in years of bumper crops, Germany had been obliged to import a large proportion of her food. One may imagine, then, the grave situation in 1918 and the years following. In 1917 the average daily amount of food calories for adults had dropped to one thousand—less than one-third of the amount determined as normal by an allied conference of experts at Paris in 1918. Daily rations of bread, meat and fats had in grams decreased from 320 g., 150 g. and 56 g., respectively, to 160 g., 19 g. and 7 g. The problem was one of actual scarcity; undernourishment of children deeply affected rich as well as poor. And increasing shortage of houses and homes greatly aggravated the suffering.

The anthropologist, Dr. Martin of Munich, who at the request of, and financed by, the American Quakers, made a prolonged and systematic study of the children's health, found that even as late as 1921, only 15 per cent of the children examined were of normal development. So deeply did starvation cut into the very life of youth that as late as 1923 the official report of the Prussian Minister of Welfare shows more than 60 per cent of the school children as undernourished, while in the same year the Municipal Board of Vocational Guidance of Berlin pronounced 30 per cent of the graduates of the Berlin public schools unfit for any industrial job.

The undermined health of the children was unable to resist attacks of tuberculosis and kindred diseases; morbidity and mortality statistics showed rapidly increasing tendencies; their figures finally surpassed four times the pre-war average.

THE heroic efforts of a few clear-headed individuals who, after the signing of the Armistice, endeavored to organize local relief agencies, were doomed to failure owing to the lack of funds and food-stuffs as well as to the inertia of the masses and the disorganization of the authorities. Even the efforts of the Americans of German descent and of the neutrals, able to observe at close range the plight of their neighbors "across the fence," and doing

"I want my Mother!"
A German Red Cross poster

excellent work in organizing various relief activities, failed to bring about the essential nation-wide rally of the German citizenship inspired by a regained confidence in the good-will of the rest of the world as well as in their own abilities.

The honor of having achieved this task is mainly due to Herbert Hoover and the Quakers (American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), his agents for the execution of the American-German Child Feeding Work.

The expert and definite conception of the objective of the relief action, namely, to provide additional food for children and expectant or nursing mothers in Germany; the tactful way in which the Quakers approached the German people on a basis of equality and mutual confidence; and last but not least, the financial power felt to be back of this move, succeeded almost from the beginning in securing wholehearted cooperation of the German authorities and in concentrating the efforts of all individuals or groups concerned with child relief in one nation-wide, uniform and concerted action. The result was the most remarkable relief action ever undertaken, from the standpoint of both its material size and its lasting influence upon post-war development of German child-welfare activities. During five years of frictionless cooperation between the American donors and the German recipients, ending in April, 1925, foodstuffs in value of more than $30,000,000 were distributed to millions of children and mothers in more than 4,000 communities. About one-third of the funds for the purchase of these foodstuffs were contributed by American generosity—a large share of which must be credited to the never-failing support

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of Americans of German descent—while the remainder was appropriated from German public funds.

REMARKABLE as the material size of the relief action may be, its real greatness and lasting value emanate from the sympathetic and intelligent cooperation of all parties in conceiving, shaping, and developing the work deliberately in such a way as to make it an integral part of the public-welfare system. It was essential to adapt the work to the peculiar welfare traditions and policies of the various German states, to meet the greatly varying needs of urban and rural districts, to appraise the remainder of pre-war welfare and charity activities in order to conserve and promote what was still desirable under the new circumstances, and to suppress what had become obsolete. At the same time it was essential to define objectives and methods so as to anticipate, if possible, future legislative measures regarding child-welfare activities in general required by the new Constitution, and at that time under consideration. So well have the agents of this great demonstration of love and fellowship succeeded that the American-German child-feeding work and a number of related activities became almost imperceptibly a permanent part of the German machinery for child welfare. The manner in which German public and private agencies have taken over, preserved in its essentials and carried on the child-feeding work as established by their American friends, demonstrates better than official speeches and ceremonies the lasting appreciation of the German people.

THE German authorities, convinced of the necessity of continued child relief, after the foreign assistance had ceased in 1925, and considering the form of the *Kinderspeisung* developed by the American Friends Service Committee and their German associates as "the most effective, the most economical and the most successful way to restore the health of the children," did not hesitate to appropriate adequately for this purpose; federal and state government joined with the municipal authorities in financing the work. The contributions of the federal government for the past three years amounted to approximately three million dollars and the amounts appropriated by the state and municipal authorities may be estimated at twice that sum.

The last available statistics (1927) report 2,529 communities with 7,802 feeding centers daily administering a warm meal to 652,321 children and expectant or nursing mothers. A related organization, charged with placing children recruited from large cities in rural homes, many of them supplied with additional food by the child-feeding agencies, reports that 280,000 children participated in this branch of relief work during the year 1927.

ALMOST valuable by-product of these activities must be seen in the fact that this work penetrates into the rural districts, disseminating information and stimulating the authorities of the remotest village.

However, even the larger communities found plenty of opportunity to draw on these experiences in order to improve local methods and equipment. The number of full-time school physicians and nurses, for example, while comparatively small before the War, has greatly increased, and at present almost all larger municipalities have made adequate arrangements to insure the medical examination of all school children at regular intervals.

These satisfactory results could be achieved only by an extraordinary degree of harmonious cooperation between the various German agencies and those concerned with child-welfare work. The War and its consequences constantly confronted the leading welfare organizations of old standing with innumerable new problems of unprecedented complexity. The situation compelled even the most self-centered and individualistic group to recognize the fact that only by the merger of material and spiritual assets could the deplorable situation be amended. This was greatly promoted by the requirement that all activities under the auspices of the American-German child-feeding work be handled by local committees, including representatives of all organizations and agencies interested in child-welfare work, without discrimination as to creed, race, class or political affiliation. Practical cooperation for a period of four or five years, centering in the common task of saving their children, broke down old prejudices which formerly had been strong enough to prevent effective cooperation. Farsighted leaders took advantage of this trend towards concentration and succeeded in merging several of the largest national welfare organizations representing various denominational, social or political groups into the German League of Private Welfare Organizations, with headquarters in Berlin. The existence of a central body of this kind greatly facilitated cooperation and coordination among the private welfare agencies and with the governmental departments in charge of public welfare work. The results already achieved by the league promise that it will become a most effective instrument for the future development of German welfare policies. The government has strengthened this principle of cooperation between state and private agencies by embodying it in recent laws and regulations.

IT can be said without exaggeration that the American relief work of Herbert Hoover and the American Quakers—particularly the manner in which the American Friends Service Committee executed the task intrusted to them—has played a remarkable part in the reconstruction of Germany, not only by the tremendous material assistance rendered, but also by reestablishing in the German mind the belief in friendship and brotherhood at a time when the German people felt that they had been made the outcasts of the world. The feelings which all thinking people in Germany cherish for the foreign relief work can be best expressed in the words of Dr. Alice Salomon, the "German Jane Addams":

> Amidst a world of hatred, the Foreign Relief Work established an invisible island where different thoughts and feelings dwell. It becomes the work of friendship between nations, and thus prepares the soil for a policy of reconciliation, of peaceful understanding and good-will, for a spirit of peace. All who are connected with this work feel that it is their task to erect that "Cathedral of Humanity" with its high-arched gates, which offers a home for all nations, provided they live no longer in war, but in mutual help and in peaceful competition, not for material goods, but in a competition of spiritual achievements, thus becoming rulers over nature, but brothers amongst each other.

"We Are Quakering"

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Siegfried according to the UFA film

Unseating "Kultur"

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Berlin correspondent of the Chicago Daily News; author of This American World

POLITICALLY, pre-war Germany belonged to the eighteenth century, the Barocco period. Spiritually, despite the universality of its finer thinkers, it was a being apart from the rest of Europe. Its scientists and professors, for all their high gifts and achievements, were more consciously national than those of other countries—not necessarily in a political sense, but in a less tangible and more important way. It was as though they strove deliberately to emphasize the inherent difference between themselves and their fellow-workers in other lands. Just as there was a German political and social system—a class state under (more or less) enlightened rulers—so there had to be a "German spirit" in purely intellectual matters.

This "striving for otherness" was apparent at least a century ago, but the longer it lasted—viz., the longer cultured Germans consciously strove to set themselves apart and above their likes in other lands—the more the belief in a specific "German spirit," evident in everything from student duels to Planck's Quantum theory, came to be justified in fact. At the very exit from the universalist Middle Ages, the Germans were pushed into a special development by Luther's side-step from the Protestant path that normally led to democracy. Leaders like Goethe, Fichte, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, George, both reflected and strengthened the peculiar German way of viewing social matters. Since aristocratic views are so patently fruitful in intellectual matters, the leaders for the most part apparently saw no reason why they should find fault with the perpetuation of an aristocratic politico-social system that foreigners found blatantly anachronistic. With the result that in time the "German spirit" became something un-western and ended by producing *Deutsche Kultur*.

TO what extent *Kultur* was the inevitable product of psychic differentiation, or how much it was artificially fostered by a people seeking psychanalytical "compensation" for its own political backwardness, it is not our task here to inquire. The interesting fact is that the *Kultur* which really did differentiate Germany sharply from such parallel countries as France, Britain and the United States, broke down and almost expired in 1918-1919 with national defeat and revolution.

Since the foundation of the Republic, the chief German problem has been one of mental tuning-in with the modern world. At first the partial disintegration of the old spirit left a vacuum that was filled by passion, weariness, and strife. There was no real desire to "occidentalize." Except politically, and perhaps even politically, the German people had been satisfied with themselves. They had never clamored for the Republic so suddenly thrust upon them—still less for the democratic equalitarian doctrines that accompanied the uproar. Any real adaptation was bound to be slow. Says the German novelist, Thomas Mann:

The conflicts that still tear Germany asunder today have

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many names and wear many forms. But fundamentally and in the depths they all come down to . . . the burning question whether Germany should stand firm on its inherited conception of *Kultur* or modify it with a correcting hand.[1]

Today it needs no sharp vision to note that the "correcting hand" has been powerfully at work and the question is rather whether *Kultur* can survive at all! The years refuse to reverse. And for this reason, though the new Republic were to prove a wash-out in the first political storm, a return to the old Empire is excluded.

"But surely," it may be objected, "nothing but war propaganda and the capital K really distinguish *Kultur* from *culture* as understood elsewhere. Aren't you grossly caricaturing the German mind as it was, in order to compare it with the German mind of today and thus prove your point?"

There is; I am not. I agree with Thomas Mann that in attacking *Kultur* with a capital K the Entente journalists were, from their narrowly patriotic viewpoint, instinctively correct. Undiluted *Kultur* simply did not appeal to the democratic palate.

NOW it is hard for a foreigner to find out precisely what the old-fashioned German meant by his *Kultur*, for it was more a matter of emotion than of concept. At times, as in such old words as *Bodenkultur* (agriculture) or the modern *Girl-Kultur* (the creation of a special type of flapper supposed to be native to contemporary Britain and America), it clearly meant no more than *cultivation*. Again, it often meant precisely what we mean when we speak of a *cultured* Chinese; namely, a certain refinement of instinct and manner and a familiarity with the non-material values which we class as the finest fruits of a proper civilization. But such usage does not reach far into the dark heart of *Kultur*. What would we, with our humanistic, Anglo-French inheritance, say to the statement that "a 'Kultur people' may have no civilization at all—may in fact live in a state of barbarism"—as a "cultured" professor once explained to me?

At its deepest, *Kultur* would seem to have signified nothing less than *supreme human achievement in fields of conduct or spiritual creation and the reverence for such achievements by the mass of the less-gifted people who could find their own national essence expressed only through such lofty achievement*. Which means, in common language, the old Romantic belief in genius—"heroes and hero worship," as Carlyle, under the influence of the German philosophers, propounded it. Not for nothing has Carlyle been called the father of Fascism.

Anything less democratic, standardized and "modern" can hardly be imagined. Here we are immensely removed from the greatest-happiness-of-the-greatest-number ideal, have turned the cold shoulder on sociological improvers, are numb to notions of material progress (good enough for the lower orders!), while around us are gods, demi-gods, Titans, saints and heroes. Other people might rant of natural rights and "human society," and dream of peaceful progress. A *"Kultur* people" neither advocated nor abhorred war, but saw in it at the worst an opportunity for heroic deeds and national aggrandizement—therefore, for more *Kultur*.

WITH such a philosophy, the Germans—in so far as they were not, like the Socialists (in part), "infected with Western materialism"—went into the War in a rather different spirit from those American youths who sincerely dreamed of "making the world safe for democracy." Here was a real struggle between national *Kultur* and international culture of the sociological, democratic type. It is notable that in shaping their own ideal of a proletarian uplift, the Russian Bolshevik leaders seem to have been inspired by the spirit of *Kultur* as something exclusive, rather than by the universal conceptions of the West.

This is no diatribe against Germany: perhaps no less heroic a philosophy could have made heroes out of middle-class Philistines and inspired them successfully for nearly four years to resist a world in arms. But it explains the animosity of the Entente journalists and the despair of educated Germany (Socialists excepted) once the War was lost and *Kultur* seemed doomed.

For *Kultur* was both aristocratic and nationalistic. As the former, it justified a class society that considered itself a national *Gemeinschaft* (or *community*: the word is not entirely exact). It prevented the German Social-Democrats from exerting any great influence on the other classes; justified the insolence of the military and the arrogance of the educated; explained the rage for *"Doktor"* and other titles; raised the state to demiurgic rank, and created a keenly-felt antithesis to the "materialistic democracy" of the Entente and the United States. But since *Kultur* was at the same time the achievement, not of "human society" but of a particular organic "people," it led inevitably to nationalism in the spiritual as well as in the narrowly political field. Even today, so learned an author and politician as Willi Hellpach can write that *"Kultur* in point of fact is never anything but the binding together of a social system into a spiritual unity"—a definition that shows small patience with internationalist aims.

SUDDENLY the country of *Kultur* found itself presented with a thoroughly Western, ultra-democratic political system, and threatened by a conspiracy of international Socialists. Is it much wonder that after ten short years the new mechanism still creaks? That the army still flouts civilian control? That the Republic is still hated by those pillars of the former state, the professors and the officials? Or that Socialist chancellors kowtow to their distinguished opponents? That most Germans misunderstand pacifists, and look up reverently to those dispossessed but none the less powerful *bessere Leute?*

Outwardly Germany would seem to have found herself. Despite the wild youths in the patriotic societies, the Republic is fast anchored and with it a democratic social system. The professors, again admitted to the international societies they once dominated, find that the plumes of their prestige are disarrayed, and inevitably—for this is a pliable people—undergo the influence of their Western colleagues. It is hard for them to fall to the level of common mortals and they bear a grudge against the Republic that laid them low. But facts are facts.

The financial industrial leaders are the real gainers, as, after an essentially middle-class revolution, one might expect. Though they court social intimacy with impecunious nobles and, like Americans, covet titles for their marriageable daughters, at heart they are well satisfied with a change that has boosted them to the rank of leading citizens. Moreover, modern industrialism really needs a democratic population to consume the mass-made wares that flow from the factories and workshops. Aristo- (*Continued on page* 629)

[1] Kultur und Sozialismus, Preussische Jahrbücher, April, 1928.

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Bruno Cassirer (publisher), Berlin

THE AVENGER

Wood-carving by Ernst Barlach, one of the most important living German plastic artists and a poet of high quality. Especially evident in his work is the element of the ghostly and visionary which distinguishes Northern art

German Art of the Present Day

By ALFRED KUHN, Ph.D.

THE foreigner entering the halls of the Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin on the occasion of a spring or autumn exhibition, receives an astonishing impression. Here, in imperial days, Gottfried von Schadow and Peter von Cornelius ruled, and Anton von Werner swung his showy scepter. The stranger, expecting to find quiet, academic art, discreet nude studies, representative portraits of high functionaries, or pictures of war-like events, is confronted instead by work of talented young artists of highly unacademic fashion. Has he mistaken the locality?

"Yes, indeed," he will be told, "there have been many changes. You see, Sir, since the revolution, Professor Liebermann has been our president. That very same Max Liebermann to whom the Kaiser had so great an aversion."

"But what of the old members of the Academy?"

"Until they chose to retire, it was no such easy matter. At first they always wanted to exhibit alongside of the new fellows, and there was a great commotion. The newspapers wrote that it was all wrong; there was no unity. Either one should not attempt to show anything modern, should be content with historic exhibitions, or one should tackle the matter seriously. Our president, Professor Liebermann, would not give up the modern exhibitions, and in the end he had his way."

This is about what the old keeper of the Academy would have to say. And thereby he would be saying something fundamental about the situation of contemporary art in Germany. The revolution has effected a change of which we ourselves are not always wholly aware. It has done away with the opposition between the Academy and the younger artists; that is, between the old and the new. It has allowed the art of the moment, which is necessarily somewhat rebellious, to be "respectable." It is interesting that this has happened simultaneously in almost all influential quarters. The museums in the first place, especially the National Gallery in Berlin under Ludwig Justi, ranged themselves on the side of youth, then represented especially by the so-called artists of the "Bridge," the *Brücke* group: Max Pechstein, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, Ludwig Kirchner and Erich Heckel, not forgetting Emil Nolde.

The Academy, after electing as its head the greybeard Liebermann, the determined opponent of the imperial era, conferred its membership upon a large number of young artists. Art criticism proceeded in the same direction, accompanied by a lively public interest.

A kind of intoxication possessed the people, from the

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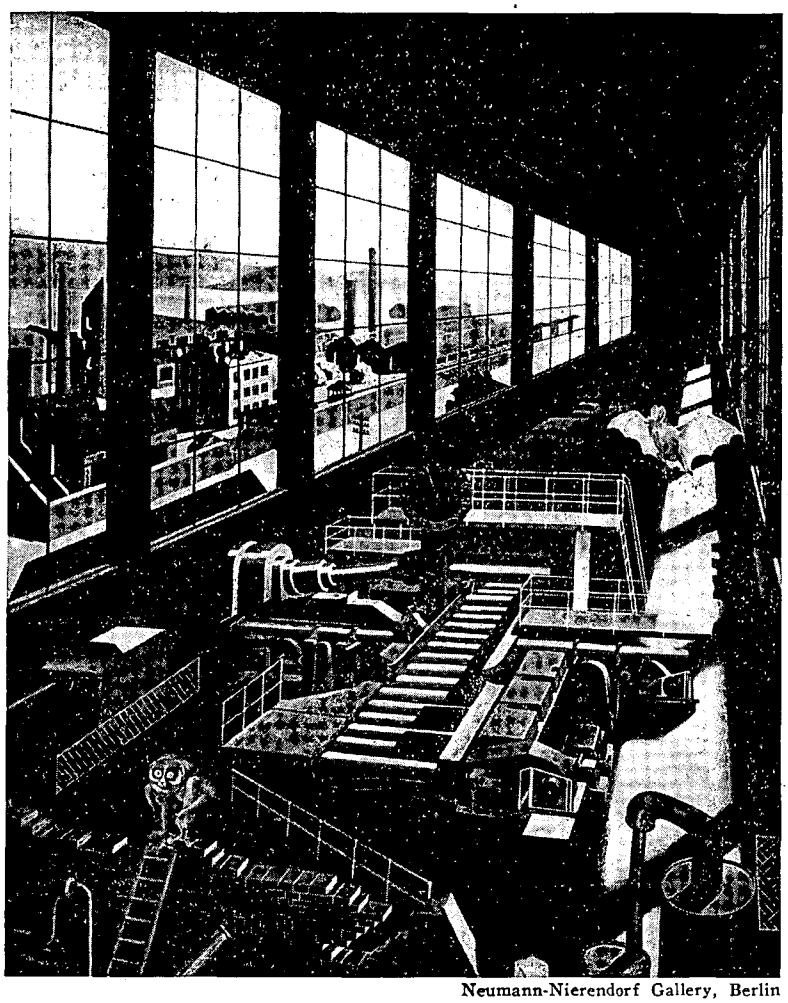


Neumann-Nierendorf Gallery, Berlin

MACHINERY HALL
By Karl Grossberg

The world of the machine is represented naturally, almost photographically, yet with touches of old German mysticism. This and the portrait below are characteristic of the new objective style

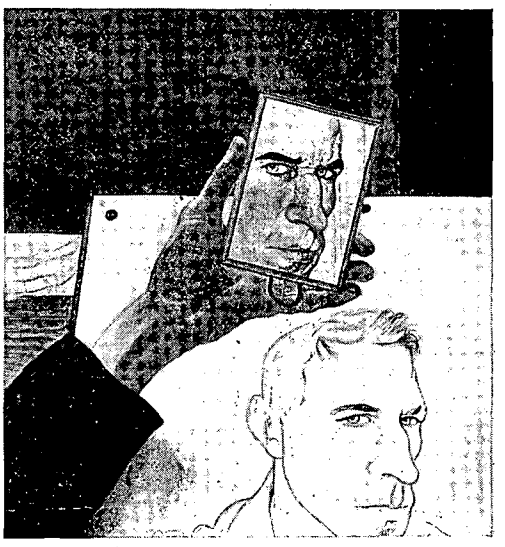
highly-educated down to petty clerks and workmen, for contemporary painting and plastic art. On Sundays and holidays all exhibitions were crowded, the people frequented lectures on contemporary art, and even in provincial towns leagues were formed to encourage the new art. The feeling that they themselves were helping to build up the age, that instead of being passive agents they were taking their fate into their own hands—these convictions enabled them to apprehend the sanctions of contemporary expression.

ANOTHER factor was the radical change in the economic classification of buyers. Those who had formerly figured as patrons of art—the court, the nobility, the retired business men, the well-to-do professors—had been replaced by a race of buyers of much shorter pedigree—those who under new conditions had acquired riches and power. Industrial magnates, unconcerned by historical knowledge or prejudices, became the collectors and protectors of the new art; they bought pictures for their villas and presented paintings and sculptures to the public collections.

Such art enthusiasm, sprung up overnight, necessarily gave rise to abuses. It is not good for an artist to become famous all of a sudden, to become the focus of public interest, a great man and the manufacturer of wares which the public is frantic to buy at high prices. Then came the inflation period, the uncertain, hand-to-mouth days when the dollar rose to giddy heights, and brought in its train hunger and demoralization, material and moral. The shocks of the War and of revolutionary experiences had not yet been absorbed. They threw garish reflections upon the pictures. In order to give real artistic expression to all this, a certain retirement would have been necessary, far from the strife of the market-place. But the buying public insisted. Dealers and museum directors clamored for new works; ecstasy, artificially engendered, became more and more a matter of routine; technique vanished, and every one imagined that to feel an inward mission implied the ability to express it.

And yet this art, which is known as German Expressionism, was founded upon a deep truth, an organic necessity. It was nothing less than the expression of an opposition to the all-too-materialistic view of things which prevailed previous to the War. Humanity in those days was too much in love with the pleasant things of this world and all its beauties, and deified the world of mere appearances, all of which found its artistic expression in the creed of Impressionism, which as we know, aimed to represent, not the soul of things, but only their outward appearance.

As long ago as ten years before the beginning of the Great War, a certain "urge to inwardness" seized upon intellectual Germany, a revulsion against the admiration for mechanical civilization with which the broad masses of the people were filled. This movement is apparent also in literature and in philosophy. A new soulfulness, religious in its nature, began to possess Germany. Poetry received new content. This movement found its expression also in the graphic arts. It was about the year 1907 when the aforementioned group of painters combined to form the *Brücke* (the Bridge). This was at the Academy of Dresden. Inspired by van Gogh, they turned for inspiration to the simple, warm-hearted works of the old German medieval painters and resolved to leave the sheer cleverness of impressionistic art as taught at the Academy. They heard the call of the great art of former days—great woodcuts of the days before Dürer, which built up the figures in most impressive manner in broad spaces—a technique taking its rise from the very nature of the material, from the chiselling of the knife in



Neumann-Nierendorf Gallery, Berlin

PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST
By Richard Herber

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the hard wood. Then the unbroken shafts of light from the glass windows in the high cathedrals, the grandiose monumentality of the old Byzantine mosaics—all these things of beauty born of the wish to express that which fired the soul, spoke to a generation also full of messages which it had to cry out to the world; but its lips were sealed; it did not seem right to speak only of itself. These periods of *Sturm und Drang,* of storm and stress, recur again and again in literature and in the graphic arts, whenever civilization has grown old and has no more to say; when a new generation must destroy the old to make room for its own truth.

IT was a rather wild art which these young people sent out into the world. One saw unbroken masses of glowing color, not melting in the least into one another, often in fact divided by black lines. We no longer encounter the soft, indefinite values of Manet, the dissolving contours, the momentary impression—instead of these we have localized colors of great intensity, a heightening of the impression to the point of caricature, and never a passing impression, always the idea of the permanent. If one were to define this art, one could say: *It was the art of personality striving for expression!* It built itself up during the next few years, and in the War years, when the soul was shaken by unheard-of happenings, it became the art of Germany. The artists felt themselves bound to the old masters before Dürer, to the smouldering pictures of the Apocalypse, or to the soul-searing art of a Matthias Grünewald. In the deepest depths they felt themselves related to the art of a Greco.

The religious element took up an especially wide field in the art of that time, indeed precisely this province of the human soul was intensively cultivated during the War years. Many who were held fast between the narrow pales of the daily grind, strove in spirit towards far-off zones. Their imaginations were filled with the colored wonders of the Orient or the primitive life of wild tribes. Thus Max Pechstein went to Palau a year before the War, lived with the natives and refreshed his imagination with pictures of unheard-of color. Thus Karl Hofer journeyed to India. The longing for inward depth, for withdrawal from the world of super-refined city culture, from modern irreligion and lack of faith, from ironic scepticism, from the worship of the purely technical, went together with the highest admiration of everything simple and primitive. This despising of all technical ability, which had so long taken the first place, led to an especially high value being set upon the art of the child, the savage and even of the weak-minded.

Names will not mean much to the foreign reader, nevertheless a few more should be mentioned. There was Franz Marc, who fell in the War, an eavesdropper upon the life of the wild things of the wood, who pictured them in a dreamy fairylike style; there was Emil Nolde, who could not take his eyes from the gigantic Bible figures and drew them over and over again in a style half heroic and half barbaric; there was Paula Becker-Modersohn, with her all-embracing love of every creature; there was the plastic artist, Ernst Barlach, who was so possessed by the spirit of the wide eastern plains, by the loneliness and the spiritual disharmony of northeastern humanity, that he set these types over and over again upon the stage of his art; there was Paul Klee, in whose strange art the deep meanings of ancient German decorative ornament might be said to live again.

Neumann-Nierendorf Gallery, Berlin

AT KEMPINSKI'S
By Georg Grosz

Social criticism is expressed in this water color by the most powerful satirist of conditions during the inflation, and in the fantastic painting below, which presents life as a clownish revelry

Flechtheim Gallery, Berlin

CARNIVAL
By Karl Hofer

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They were all overshadowed by the tremendous personality of the ageing Lovis Corinth; once a pioneer of *plein air* painting, whose eyes had been opened to the supernatural by the experience of his country and in the dark days of his own destiny.

Crushed into the background, the old Impressionism continued to live. It was considered to be un-German, French in fact, and beyond this it was despised as the expression of an untroubled, frivolous generation which had never recognized the heavy problems of existence. In those years in which everything, even questions of aesthetics, became a matter of *Weltanschauung* in the deepest sense of the word, in fact, of politics, and when people spoke only of their convictions, a bitter battle was waged between the two generations. It was due only to the great cleverness of Max Liebermann, who in his own person had remained true to the old European ideals and thus to Impressionism, that the change took place quietly. He could not resist the power of the young men's urge and opened wide the academic halls to the onsurge of the young.

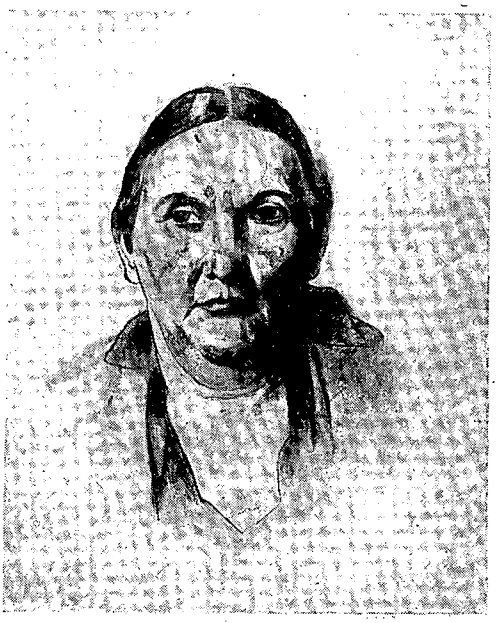
PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST
By Lovis Corinth
Corinth, who died in 1925, was the master of the transition period from Impressionism to Expressionism

The development of this "German Expressionism," its consciously national, consciously revolutionary character, will be clear from the foregoing: The artists declared themselves one with a German art whose roots of existence were in their own past, an art which at the same time concerned itself with the last questions of existence, which was filled with deep human, religious and social problems, and which did not remain indifferent to the subject of the picture, whether a Madonna or a cabbage, so long as the painting was good, but considered the matter of the theme in the first place. The convulsions of the day, the insecurity of everything already existing, the feeling of a world in ruins, all combined to heighten everything immeasurably; to destroy the form, to suffer nothing to ripen; so that seen from the standpoint of today such art appears to us as an uncontrolled conflagration.

ALTHOUGH art in other European countries wore no such passionately contorted countenance as in Germany, yet it was consciously national and set conscious frontiers between itself and other countries, and not only during the War years. Just as was the case in Germany, for several years previous to the War. In a strange "unity of disunity," it mirrored the situation of Europe, pregnant with the stuff of conflict. The Italians, who had long cultivated a superficial, academic drawing-room art simultaneously with Impressionism, turned on their part to their own historical traditions; took up the connection with the Early Renaissance, the most significant epoch of their artistic history, and proclaimed their adherence to a most conscious style, the *valori plastici*. The French developed a rational Cubism from the inspiration which they had gathered from Cezanne; but soon found this insufficient as the expression of their national consciousness and connected themselves anew with the classic tradition of Nicolas Poussin. Soon the world heard from Picasso himself that he now painted "like Ingres."

This was the situation about five years after the War, at a moment when the peoples of Europe still regarded one another with the deepest distrust, when they kept their frontiers hermetically sealed, when the battle raged in the Ruhr, and the German mark fell into the abyss.

Something new, however, began to prepare itself in the consciousness of the intellectual man, whose most sublime expression at all times has always been pictorial art. No politician and scarcely any economist dared to speak of international understanding, and the artist himself did not suspect the meaning of his own hieroglyphics. But almost simultaneously the nationalism of the various nations began to decline. Germany was exhausted by the excesses of spiritual ecstasy. The fires of passion, burnt to ashes, continued to leap restlessly here and there. Many felt that they had given out their best power, and all that they had done away with a technique which had endured for centuries. Once again the fact was recognized that expression is nothing without form.



SKETCH OF AN OLD WOMAN
By Max Pechstein
The former leader of German Expressionism now employs the clear and objective style of the present time

When the world began to grow lighter, the frontiers opened, the artists again journeyed forth into the world from the narrow houses in which they had been kept for half a generation, then the last remnants of cramp and hysteria vanished. Life again became worth living, the earth beautiful and worthy to be regarded with love. The time was over when one must seek everything in one's own bosom—because the eye must turn away from the surrounding horrors to find some compensation within. It was as if lattice windows had been thrown open, letting the sun shine in upon a fair creation long veiled in powder-smoke.

Once more the world was revealed to the artists, in unheard-of brilliance, in unexampled beauty. The art that

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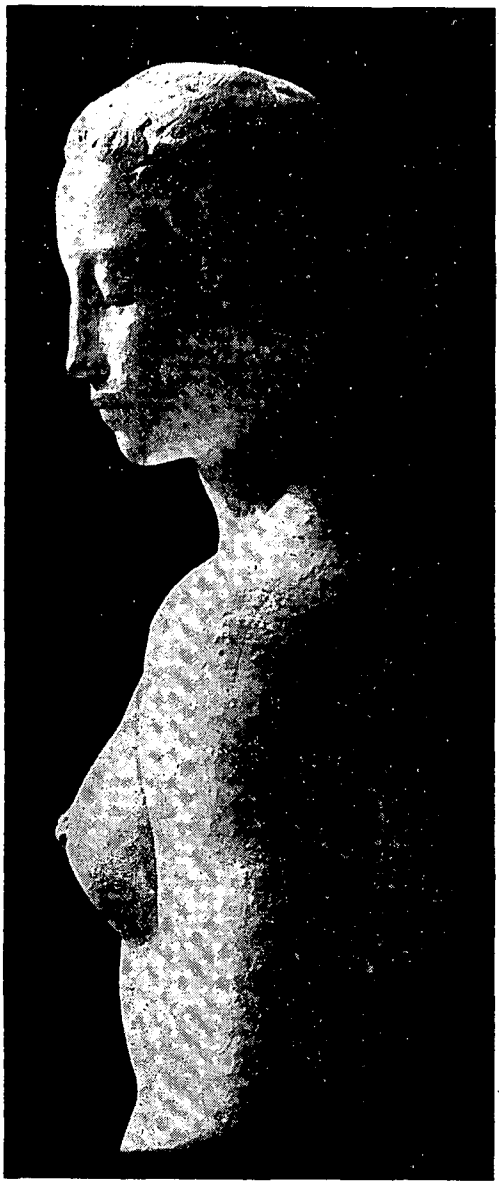
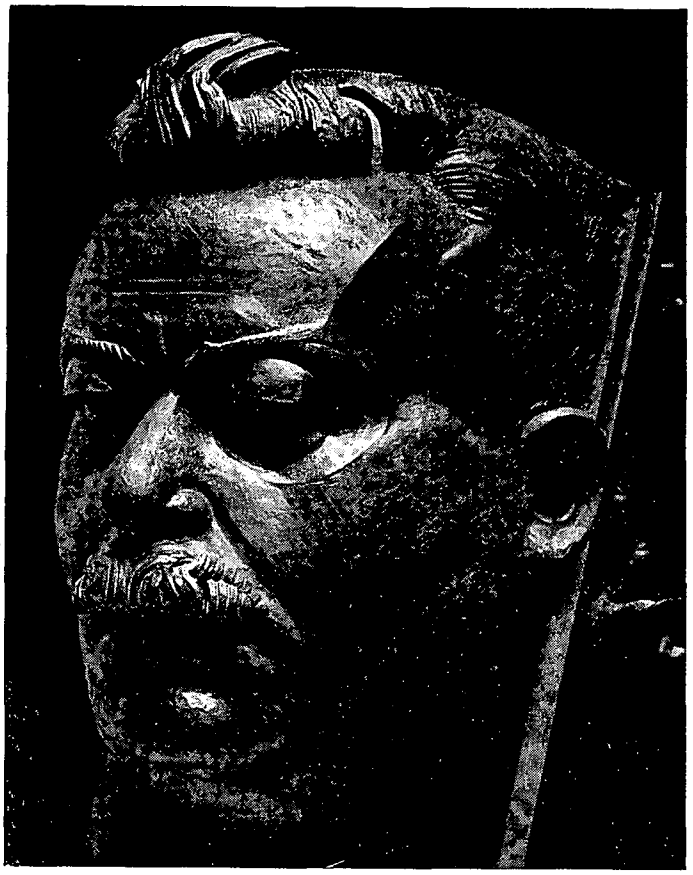
came into being was realistic, taking note of the most minute details, finding value in everything that is. They saw the bright machine, the representative of peaceful, everyday toil, which a former generation, dreaming of life remote from the world on the shores of primitive lands, had regarded as an enemy. They admired the towering cities, dedicated to organized communal life, whereas formerly they had loved only the poverty-stricken huts of fishermen, peasants or South Sea Islanders. They contemplated human beings and saw them, no longer distorted by passion in a moment of highest excitement, but as an aggregate of possibilities. They found one secret after another in the hills and valleys about the nose and mouth, in the thousandfold little wrinkles about the forehead and the eyes. Confronted by the great wonders of inexhaustible nature, they became wondering scholars, whose apprenticeship had begun all over again.

Europe was battered, bleeding from many wounds, humanity was impoverished and divided into larger and smaller groups. The wild beasts of passion had been allowed to escape too far from the charitable prisons in which discipline and order had kept them confined for half a century. They had ravaged, torn and destroyed. One could still hear their jaws crunching away in the East, and in the eastern heavens there was still a reflection of blood-red fires. Should one wait until the fire spread westward? Was not a building-up of clean, objective labor the necessity of the hour? No wordy talk, but deeds? Humanity still had not realized this piece of wisdom.



TORSO
By Wilhelm Lehmbruck

Years had still to pass before the day of Locarno dawned, but this future development was already evident in the work of the artists! Their new style was called the art of the new objectivity. Its beginnings were modest, and first became evident in the works of such artists at Otto Dix and George Scholz. Some painters come to this art by way of romantic memories, such as a perceptible connection with the painting of 1830—as in the works of Karl Mense and George Schrimpf; then again the subtle art of drawing as practiced by Albert Dürer, who presents a model of minutest exactitude, followed, for example by Karl Heise. Karl Grossberg is inspired by the machine. Richard Herber and Wilhelm Lachnit are touched by the art of drawing as practiced in the German Romantic period. This has influenced even George Grosz, the strongest representative of political and social caricature. Rudolf Schlichter in his portraits has created a powerful synthesis between the passion of Expressionism and the joy in reality.



Flechtheim Gallery, Berlin

MASK OF FRIEDRICH EBERT
By Rudolf Belling

This brass mask of the first president of the Republic is in the Assembly Hall of the Social-Democratic Party of Berlin

IF we look across the frontiers, we see that this new style has certainly expressed itself most powerfully in Germany, and this is quite comprehensible, since the necessity of building up anew was greater in Germany than elsewhere; but that, subject to certain differentiations, it has become an expression of the spirit of the age all over the world. It is a development which can also be traced in architecture, the face of which is the same from New York to Paris, from Rotterdam to Berlin. Here the same idea prevails which is seen to rush with a mighty sweep of its wings from one end of the world to the other; national consciousness, the cult of a civilization which has sprouted from seeds sown many generations ago. Parallel to this is an international communion in objective toil, honest, earnest, bare of all romanticism, labor to re-erect the world of humanity in new beauty.

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Writing Since the War

By JULIAN GUMPERZ and AGNES SMEDLEY

MOST of the new generation of German writers, which matured during the War, took color from what the text-books call "Expressionism." They were in opposition to the traditional literary forms; but their revolt, at first only literary, tended with the beginning of the revolution to develop active participation in the clash of opinions and social forces.

Shortly before and during the War a general discontent, fomenting in politics, was finding literary expression. Writers criticized the submission and servility of the middle and upper classes, and ridiculed the big and petty officials in and out of office who had titles but no heads. Among these writers was Heinrich Mann, brother of the better-known Thomas Mann. He wrote a series of novels intended as a sort of encyclopedia of criticism. In one, Der Untertan, he treated of a type inevitably developed under the system of the goose-step, cringingly permitting himself to be trodden upon and in turn treading upon those beneath. Another of many similar writers was Hasenclever, who pictured the conflict between the old forces in Germany and the rising tide of mass discontent.

The War intensified this general discontent—a fact revealed in the outspoken pacifist tendency of the Expressionist school. Young writers, facing the terrible depravity of the War, did not hide their eyes from the truth that mankind is depraved; but still protested—a declaration of faith as it were—that man is innately good. One of the outstanding personalities of this group was Leonhard Frank, known previously for two novels of very high literary quality. Franz Werfel expressed similar emotions in poetry.

IN the first years after the Armistice, anti-war writers produced a few poems and dramas; but no important fiction such as did their French, English and American colleagues. Translations of such were quite successful, but not until six or seven years later appeared such fiction as Arnold Zweig's The Case of Sergeant Grisha, which swept the country and is now in vogue in translation abroad. This depicts a Russian prisoner of war, guilty of no crime, but trapped in and crushed by the Juggernaut of militarism. Another anti-war story, even more successful, was The Adventures of the Good Soldier Schwejk. This work (produced last year in dramatic form by the Piscador Theater) is the tale of a modern Quixote, a boneheaded soldier whose boneheadedness reflects the silly faces of officers, army doctors and chaplains, officials high and low, generals, kaisers, and so on—not forgetting the skirts which diverted attention from military duties.

Anti-war feeling meanwhile expressed itself in magazine articles, poems, satires and dramatic sketches. That more was not done at the time is due to the fact that all the young literary personalities of the country who were strong and wished to express something new, adopted more direct modes of protest.

Yet as soon as the real outbreak came, and what they had been dreaming manifested itself on the streets and on the barricades, there was a split in this young group. Some took definite stand with the masses; others, vacillating with the times, offered to the literary public a strange array of mixed drinks. Still another group reflected in literature that trend in politics that was to lead the German nation back into the "respect of the world."

In those days, idealism and romanticism, as well as a feeling that world history is not made without great moral faith, rallied a group of young idealist writers around the inspiring personalities of the two great revolutionary leaders, Luxemburg and Liebknecht. Many of these young writers did not understand the politics of these leaders, yet believed in their ideals—a conflict reflected in their writings. Rosa Luxemburg herself, in her letters from prison, as well as in the articles she contributed at the time, proved one of the great stylists of the German language. One day when history is written in a more impartial spirit, Luxemburg's name will live, not only in the hearts of the workers for whose liberties she fought, but also in the annals of German literature.

In the face of the starving and dying millions, the more sincere and vital authors were unable to believe that the creation of literature has a value in itself, so they left their desks and their studies for more real and brutal things. A large section of the "flaming youth" of this period ended their lives on the barricades or suffered for years in the prisons. Few were so fortunate as to leave their prison cells as famous as Erich Mühsam, known to every explorer of Munich's Bohemia before the War, or as did Ernst Toller, who from his Bavarian fortress wrote several well-known dramas of revolt, some of which have been presented in America. The creative capacities of many of the most promising young revolutionary writers were annihilated during this period.

EXPRESSIONISM was then at its height, particularly among the group which vacillated with the times. How miserably many of these failed to understand the ideals they thought they were fighting for is shown in a poem by one of their leaders, which begins:

Auch du hast Brüste, Proletariermädchen!

(You also have breasts, proletarian maiden!)

This poet and those like him, apparently extending their field of activity from the West End to the East Side, were soon to discover, however, that the revolution was not merely a new erotic adventure. Later, when new roads were laid and new guide-posts lettered, these people, without any orientation of their own, merely followed. Some returned to their old allegiances of cultivating literature for literature's sake; others drifted into mysticism, symbolism and the world of the "soul" where everything is possible but where they are held responsible for nothing.

With the convalescence of the country, the Expressionist School decayed. It had enriched literature with new forms of expression, created new (*Continued on page* 624)

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Drama and Music

By LILLIAN T. MOWRER

GERMAN drama is so faithful a mirror of contemporary life that it is not surprising to learn that in no other European country has the theater undergone such a post-war change as in Germany. In the imperial days, the theater was a social function combining the values of art and education. The old *Intendanten* (producer and manager in one) lacked nearly all of the attributes of the modern showman; their interest was artistic and the choice of plays was determined by intrinsic worth with none but a very casual interest in box-office returns. Actors were engaged on a five-year contract at a yearly salary; when not wanted for principal parts, even first-class players accepted minor roles. The result was splendid ensembles and bold experiment.

The corner stone of the theatrical structure was the subsidized theater, state or municipal. Every capital had one or more of the former; large provincial towns called upon the taxpayers and managed to keep at least one of the latter alive. In very favorable circumstances, the reigning Karl or August or Heinrich (there were twenty-five of them altogether) took a personal interest in productions and not merely in the ballet; as the highest reward, actors were sometimes received at court, and the distinction of being allowed to write *Hof-Comedian* after their names compensated for the modesty of the yearly salary.

In Berlin, with its state and municipal theaters and opera houses, distinguished private bankers like Mendelsohn and Hardy were delighted to back private producers like Brahm and Reinhardt. They expected no return on their money; the producer was not required to furnish dividends, any more than income was to be expected from the libraries or museums.

Under such spacious conditions the theater in Germany was more distinguished and at the same time more vital than in lands where individual actors were encouraged to exploit their personalities for all they could get out of it, or hard-boiled impresarios measured esthetic values in terms of the bank balance.

BUT when, with the revolution, German society underwent a radical change, the theater had to follow suit. Autocracy gave way to plutocracy. The first destructive element was the movies. By their ability to buy the occasional services of the best legitimate actors at prices far beyond those of the five-year contracts, the movie people smashed the ensemble system. Team-work began to suffer; a few actors and actresses became affluent stars and the others lapsed into a kind of artistic proletariat—less well-paid than before.

The effect of the inflation also was disastrous. The depreciated currency could buy nothing the artists desired, and its rapid fall made a joke of long-term contracts. At the same time, it destroyed the fortunes of the very people who had always indulged in the theater as they indulged in good food and beer and books.

When at the close of 1923 Germany pulled herself together on the basis of the new gold mark, the theatrical world was thoroughly demoralized. A new type of public had come into existence, with plenty of money to spend but no taste for the sober amusements the pre-war theaters had offered. Naturally, the managers soon analyzed the new craving. The revue appeared—gorgeous, spectacular and empty. Trivial plays by hard-boiled carpenters were tried and, if they drew, kept on as long as there were people to see them. The old repertory of classics and serious new pieces was badly shrunk. And with Berlin's increasing desire to be "modern" the importation of American plays was inevitable. Within the last year the capital has been edified by Broadway, Chicago, Crime, The Ringer, The Trial of Mary Dugan, Burlesque, The Show-off and Rose Marie.

AND yet the theater in Berlin is still appreciably better than in London, Paris or New York, and far more abundantly satisfying than in Moscow. Having said that "American" influence is much too evident, I have said the worst. The German interest in good drama has not been entirely uprooted by commercial exploitation. This does not mean that either acting or taste is intrinsically better than in other countries; but the theater has to some extent remained in the hands of men intensely interested in the artistic reflection of the contemporary; the secret of the vitality and drawing power of German drama is its direct relation to living issues.

Hauptmann, Wedekind, Schnitzler, each has been the mouthpiece of his time: their plays have marked the awakening liberal tendencies, the transition from naturalism to symbolism, the growing interest in social reform, in sex and in morbid psychology. The work of the young pre-war Expressionists, Reinhard Sorge, Paul Kornfeld, and Walter Hasenclever, heralded the unrest which preceded 1914. The armed conflict produced a whole crop of war plays, many of them worthless—Reinhard Goering's Seeschlacht (Battle at Sea) is a notable exception—but close to daily life.

The revolution was another powerful stimulus to drama: at moments of political crises, the plays of Ludwig Rubiner (The Savior—Der Retter—produced in 1920), Herbert Kranz (Freedom—Freiheit—produced in Frankfurt in 1920), and above all those of Ernst Toller, seemed the very echo of the national emotions. Toller, who was the right-hand man of the Bavarian revolutionary Kurt Eisner, and who was sentenced for high treason, became internationally famous with Masse Mensch (Men in the Mass), written and produced while the author was in the prison of Niederschonfeld, 1920, and Die Maschinenstürmer (The Machine Wreckers). The latter piece, put on by Reinhardt at the Grosse Schauspielhaus in 1922 shortly after the murder of Walter Rathenau by a romantic reactionary, made a sensation which people still remember.

INDEED, the work of the younger dramatists can be understood only in its relationship to contemporary German history. To people who seek in the theater the conventional situations of "well-constructed" (*Continued on page* 634)

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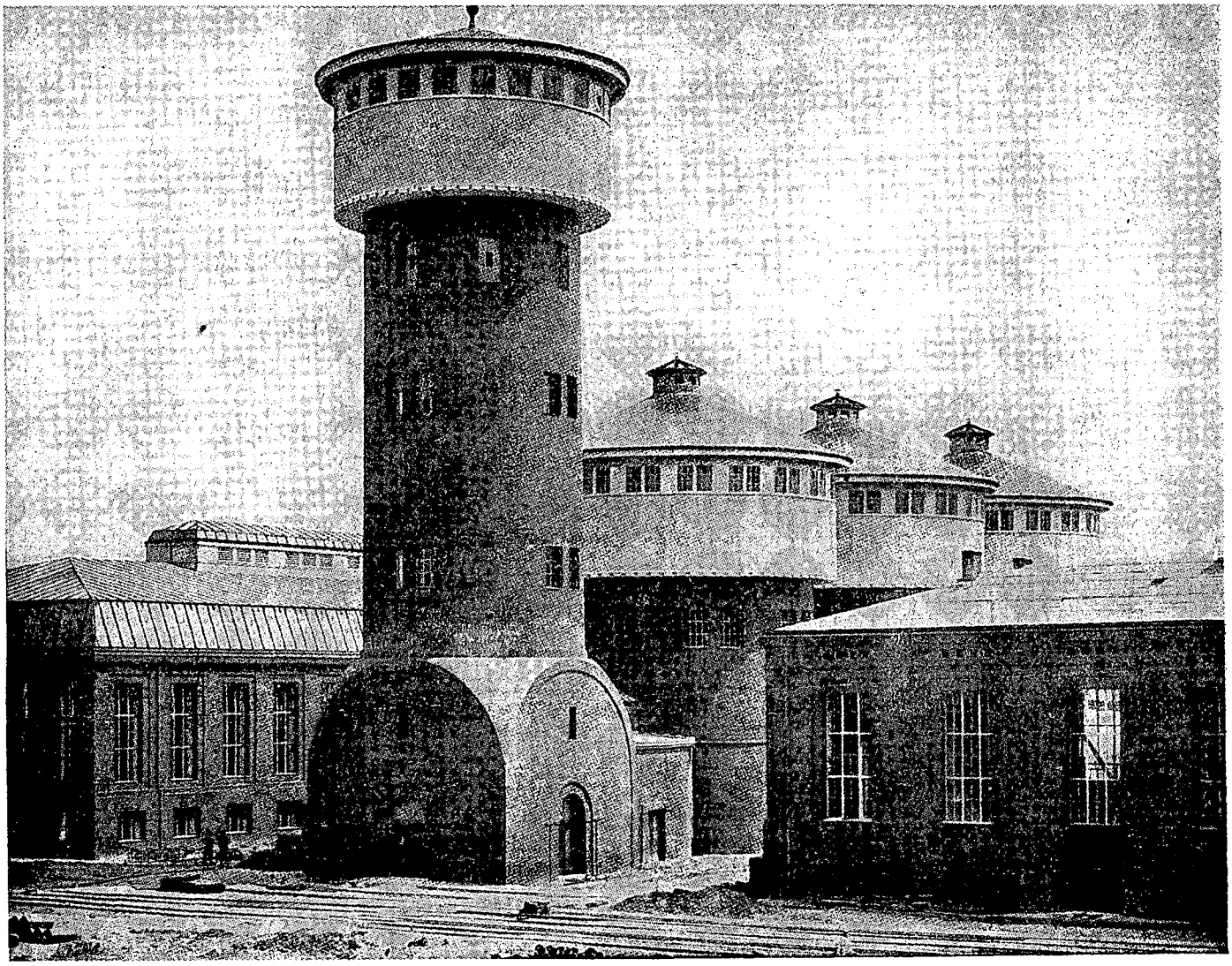
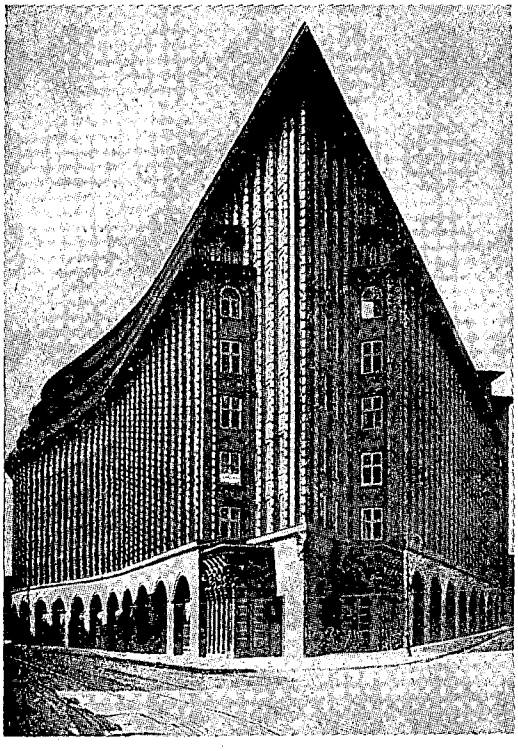
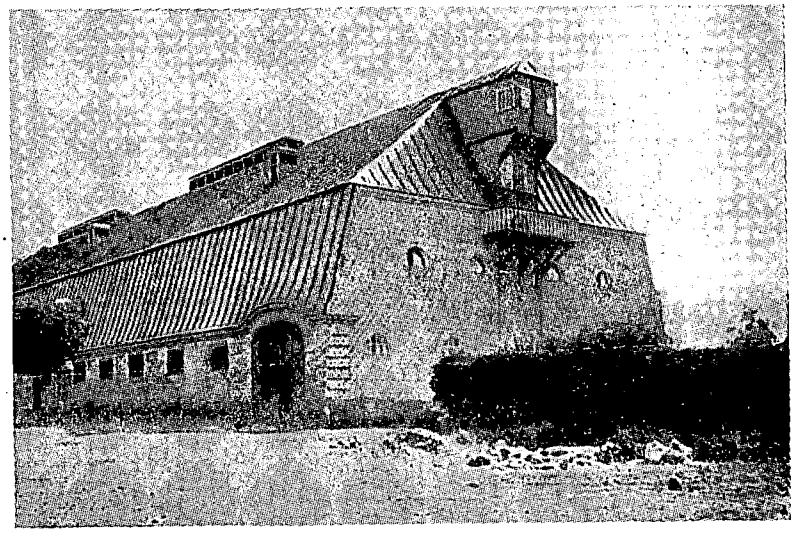




THE striving for beauty in German architecture today, as Baron von Oelsen points out, began in factories, offices, farm buildings. Some examples of it shown in the water-tower (above) by Peter Behrens of Berlin; the office building (left) by Fritz Häger of Hamburg; and the granary for a farm in Holstein (below) by Ernst Prinz of Kiel.



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Post-War in German Architecture

By HERBERT VON OELSEN

Editor of Die Pyramide, Berlin

OUT of the cruel reality of war was born the perhaps more cruel reality of a new idea: the idea of abstraction in art. In nothing does the new development in Germany exhibit itself more obviously than in architecture. And yet, the movement now apparent everywhere began a full generation ago. In post-war architecture, exhibited internationally, England has responded least to the new ideas; France has begun "from new;" Germany has "carried on," with new impetus.

As in politics, two diverse tendencies have departed from the middle line: the utmost Right, believing in the development of inherited styles; the utmost Left, creating new devices of "modern fitness."

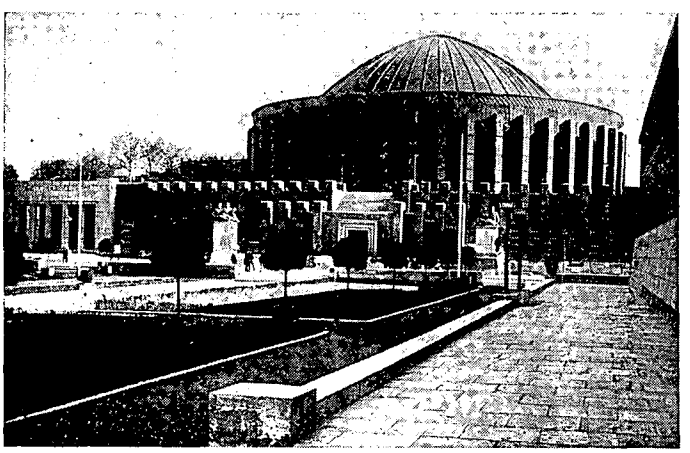
Walter Gropius, Bruno and Max Taut, Mies van der Rohe, Professor Bartning, fanatically longed for utmost simplicity, banishing every ornament from the plain *cubus* of their buildings. Out of glass and iron, out of beton and plates, out of absorption of the new technology, out of the use of different technical patents, the "new goddess of the new beauty" had to be born.

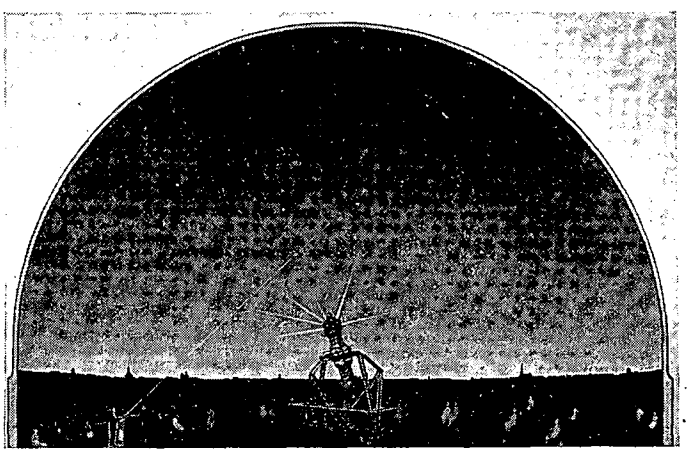
Romanticism, the strongest German goddess, who had always been able to unite the severity and earnestness of Prussia and the brilliancy and softness of the South, reigned still over Left as well as Right, leading the long way from simple copy to modern fitness. What Professor Bruno Paul and Professor Schultze-Naumburg already had tried before the War—to deliver German architecture, exterior and interior, of misunderstood imitation of old beautiful styles—became now visible in the effort for clear lines. Country houses of great cosiness yet great simplicity were built. Fritz Hoeger of Hamburg erected his brick buildings copying the old architecture of his native country with astonishing technical skill and originality.

But both directions, Right and Left, had their beginning in the one original middle line, of modified Romanticism. Professor Peter Behrens (honorary member of the American Institute of Architects), who never ceased to be an admirer of Karl Friedrich Schinkel, remained the leader and educator of modern German architecture. He, with Professor Paul Bonatz of Stuttgart, and Professor Emil Fahrencamp of Düsseldorf, followed the development of skeleton construction, dividing their fronts in straight lines, but with evident profound knowledge of the value of ancestorial art.

It may be difficult for the foreigner to recognize the origin and the differences of all these directions. It is easier to feel what they have in common: the tendency of consequence, of veracity, of simple clearness; the desire to give proportional complaisance to the practical idea.

A style grows out of the needs and laws of living in any country. The German architecture of today shows a conscious recession of the individual in favor of the community; of luxury in favor of labor and the all-importance of daily living. . . . Not only the emancipation of the accustomed styles but an earnest looking for new opportune laws. It is characteristic that nearly all new artistic forms in architecture and applied art have their origin in technical or practical products. The new German forms in building came out of industrial and economic ideas. The shop, the office buildings, were first modernized. From the striving for beauty in the working-place, the modern idea went over to lodgings and representative houses. German post-war architecture certainly was defined by concrete need; but much more by the abstract demand of the native character.





ZEISS PLANETARIUM AT DÜSSELDORF

For two generations the Zeiss Works at Jena have been world-renowned, both because of the scientific optical instruments that are their product, and because of the highly developed cooperative organization of the plant. Today the Zeiss Planetariums are an arresting architectural feature in a score of German cities. They reproduce the motion of the heavenly bodies, from the home sky to the course of centuries compressed into a few moments. They bring the universe to the gates of a modern city, and Italy, Russia, and the United States are importing this new implement of education.

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The Shelter Famine

By DR. WERNER HEGEMANN

Editor of the City-Planning Review, Städtebau; director of the first City-Planning Exhibition, which was held in Boston in 1909

THE yearly surplus of births over deaths in Germany dropped in 1927 to 7.8 per thousand. Just before the War it was 12.4. One of the main causes of this sharp depression in the nation's vitality has been the lack of dwellings, profoundly inimical to family health and morale. And the $600,000,000 and more which Germany is supposed to pay from now on over a period as yet undetermined, would just about build the 200,000 small dwellings required even at the present slackening rate of increase of German households.

The figure of 200,000 does not include that even more urgent, because older, need of at least 600,000 dwellings (which would cost some $1,800,000,000) still unbuilt owing to the complete cessation of construction during the War (see Fig. 1). This lack appears vividly in the accompanying chart (Fig. 2) of the German housing famine.[1] Observe that in Berlin, for example, for every 1,000 families with homes, there are 93 sharing quarters with other families.

These figures but feebly represent the actual calamity. Housing conditions were bad, even before the War. During the campaign in 1912 for better housing (of which I was general secretary) our slogan was:

"In Greater Berlin, 600,000 people live in tenements where from 5 to 15 people sleep in a room. Hundreds of thousands of children have no playgrounds."

At the International Housing and Town Planning Congress at Paris this year (1928), the official report of Germany emphasized the unsatisfactory condition of housing conditions and continued:

> If for every household a sufficiently large dwelling were to be built, about 1,700,000 new dwellings would be required. If also the families that, as a result of insufficient dwelling space, have no or not a normal number of children, were considered, a further requirement of about 800,000 dwellings may be estimated. If, therefore, a nation with natural development could be taken as a basis of estimate, all in all 3,300,000 dwellings would be necessary.

Ten billion dollars would have to be spent before Germany's housing could be lifted from the condition into which the incapacity of her pre-war rulers and the immeasurable destruction of capital have thrown the country.

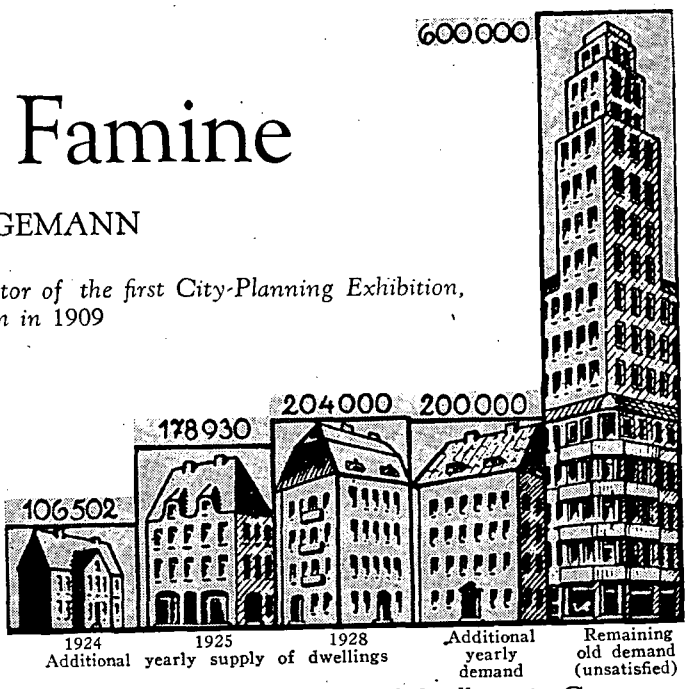

Fig. 1. Demand and supply of dwellings in Germany

HOW does German building and housing fare under the prevailing conditions?

After having made, during the War, unprecedented but futile efforts of will-power and self-sacrifice, the German people grew very ready to follow suggestions from abroad. Right after the War, Germany threw herself into an orgy of "voluntary Americanization." Even today there exists no strong German resistance to the vigorous advertising campaigns carried on by American business for the introduction of American luxuries into a world badly in need of very different things. Even today one finds eagerness to copy American skyscrapers, subways, palatial cinema theaters, monumental stadia, great fairs, automobile roads and other costly American suggestions which can be financed in the capitals of concentrated American wealth, but are less appropriate for nations struggling for bare economic existence. Although many German experts agree with their English and American colleagues that the skyscraper is a

[1] These graphs are from the printed document No. 3777, published December 14, 1927, by the federal minister of works.

Fig. 2. Map of the home shortage in Germany. In the key (left, under the caption), "über" means over; "bis," under

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dubious or even dangerous asset in sound city planning, something like a "skyscraper craze" has overwhelmed German architects and city officials. As offices were piling into old apartment-houses, one hoped to win such buildings back for dwelling purposes by the building of new office-buildings as capacious as possible. Fortunately, the lack of capital has generally prevented the erection of buildings higher than ten stories. (Stuttgart, with 340,000 inhabitants, thirteenth city of Germany, just reached a climax with a fifteen-story building.) But in most German cities the old, strict building-laws have been relaxed. Five-story buildings are being transformed into seven- and eight-story structures, and new construction, aiming at still greater heights, remains unfinished and unsalable as ruins of bad financial planning. Even so small a city as Aachen (160,000) has a huge unfinished steel skeleton, begun during the follies of inflation time, and many architects and city mayors have in their desks finished plans for skyscrapers awaiting the help of American financiers.

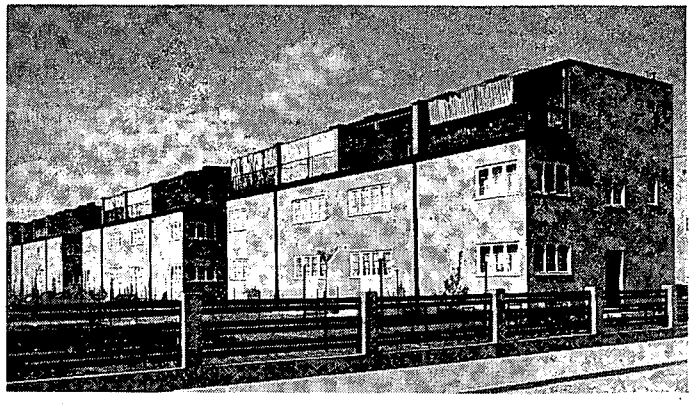
While high structures for office purposes are justifiable in certain cases and special locations, most serious experts agree that for housing the average family with children, the five-story tenement prevalent in Germany is utterly bad. Especially bad is the old Berlin system of tenements with never-ending rear buildings grouped around narrow courtyards numbering sometimes up to five, lined up from front to rear and each accessible only through the one in front of it. This vicious system was made possible by the old and specifically German method of driving up speculative land-values by long chains of mortgages. The so-called "owners" of these tenement-blocks in most cases really owned little or nothing but the onerous duty of collecting the interest on the four or more mortgages representing up to 100 per cent of the renting-value of the block. Even a slight failing of incoming house-rent could wipe out this "owner" who, bankrupt, passed his fictitious title and his onerous duty on to the holder of the fifth mortgage. These chains of mortgages were the means for overcapitalizing and mobilizing property values and invited exploiting of the building code to its last possibilities, making it impossible for the workingmen of the big cities to live anywhere but on over-valued land in enormous barracks. This fantastic but omnipotent system was and still is based upon one of the many harmful laws made by that curiously overrated despot Frederick, called "The Great." Before the War it had brought Greater Berlin values of land for workingmen's houses tenfold what corresponding property cost in Greater London, a metropolis more than twice the size. Even the revolution was powerless against this system, built up over two centuries.

When all values dwindled, and the watered mortgages were wiped out by the inflation, will-power and intelligence were lacking in the rapidly changing governments to grapple decisively with the conditions.

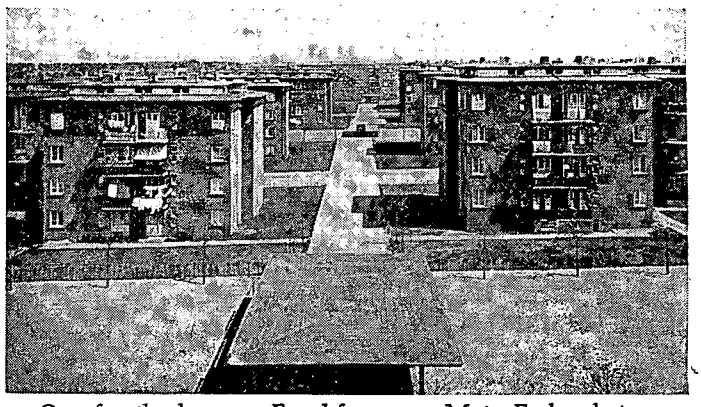
IN their search for an explanation of the fact that the average number of people per building in Berlin was 75.9, as compared with about 8 in London, Philadelphia and Baltimore, 8.5 in Brussels, 13.4 in Amsterdam, 20 in New York, 38 in Paris, German advocates of better housing had, before the War, reached something like an agreement that the old reactionary three-class voting system gave too much power to the landed interests in the cities and enabled them to prevent effective taxes on land; to prevent also construc-

Miners' settlement of model dwellings, Hermsdorf
Ernst Pietrusky

Tenement houses in Berlin-Neukölln. Paul Mebes and Paul Emmerich



Tenement houses in Hamburg-Barmbeck. Hans and Oscar Gerson



One-family houses, Frankfurt am Main-Eschersheim. Bruno-Langkeit

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tion of those suburban trolley lines and elevated railroads, that powerfully opened up great areas of American cities for the building of small houses with gardens. The revolution of 1918 abolished the three-class voting system, but selfishness and indifferent habits had grown through a century into a routine stronger than common sense. In Berlin, the Socialist city parliament of today even more consistently than the conservative three-class parliament of pre-war time builds exclusively subways costing three times as much as the elevated railroads that could be built—three times longer; and as money for the poorly paying subways is scarce, the old street-car trolley lines, noisy and slow as they are in congested streets, are the main field of transit extension.

INSTEAD of the garden-cities that reformers were striving for during the last ten years before the War, the German revolution has brought only an improvement of the established tenement-house system. This improvement, it must be granted, is considerable. The court-yards have grown larger and the number of stories surrounding them, in the outlying districts at least, have grown smaller. But as empty lots within the old five-story-districts have to be made use of, new five-story tenements for workingmen are still frequently built in the big German cities. Many of these new structures have high artistic qualities. Even where artistic merits are absent, an element of order or at least of homogeneity prevails, because the small contractors, building pretentiously small sections of the streets, have been supplanted by public-utility companies employing architects for the building of entire blocks, streets, or even whole quarters.

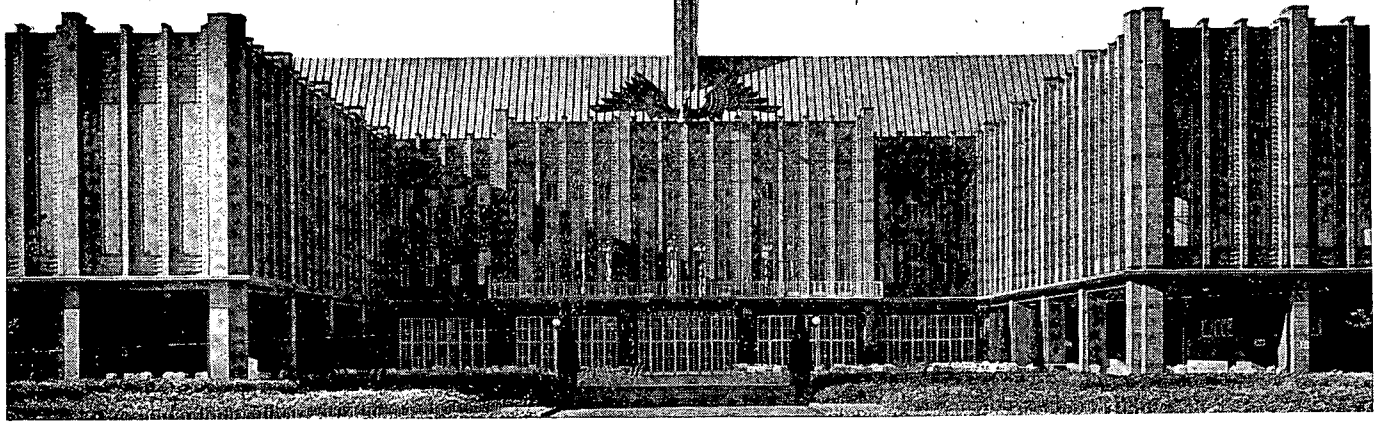
Among the less frequent efforts to build smaller houses, those of the city of Frankfort-on-the-Main deserve attention. The former mayor of Frankfort, Adickes, has become famous, even in America, for his policy of bringing at an early date plenty of land into the possession of the city. As taxes on land even in Frankfort are relatively low, the city loses comparatively little land taxes by this policy. Forty per cent of the land within her boundaries is owned by the city. This fact helped to drive up the prices of real estate without making present housing activities of the city any easier. Twenty-two per cent of the city area is in permanent open spaces. The other land in the possession of the city with insignificant exceptions consisted of scattered lots unfit for laying out well-connected colonies or garden suburbs. Despite its land policy, the city of Frankfort, therefore, for carrying out her housing policy, had to acquire land by condemnation. She thus acquired eighty acres at the average price of $3,500 an acre for unimproved land.

The active new housing policy of this city is, however, still in an experimental stage. Its new promoters have eschewed well-tried building methods and tend to favor "new" art. The newness finds expression in the preference for windows set near the corners of the rooms, in the omission of protecting cornices and in the use of flat roofs instead of the traditional well-tried German tile roof. The Frankfort reformers hope to realize considerable savings by standardizing their methods of building and by producing large sections of their houses in a factory built for the purpose. This same idea was tried—at perhaps too early a date—in Forest Hills Gardens, Long Island, and was abandoned. In Frankfort-on-the-Main the idea has not been abandoned, but the number of houses built under the new regime dwindled from 3,000 in 1927 to 2,500 in 1928, although in that city the demand for dwellings increased during the last six months by 4,000.

The necessity of standardizing German house construction is obvious in the fact that for a long time to come almost a billion dollars a year must be spent for such construction. This fact might lead a strong government to adopt long-range programs and make advantageous contracts for doors, windows, lumber, cement, bricks, etc., with factories, which thus without risk would be justified in planning their production. Savings up to 30 per cent or more ought to be possible. It is a curious reflection upon the traditional "German efficiency" that in Germany the standardization of housing is still in its infancy.

DURING and after the War, for reasons of internal pacification, house-rents were held down near to pre-war levels, while all other prices soared. The same inflation that wiped out the majority of "owners," who sold often to far-sighted foreigners, wiped out also the heavy mortgage debts.

Post-war laws have reestablished about 25 per cent of this old debt, and gradually added state taxes to the low rents, bringing them up to about 120 per cent of the pre-war level. This is high, because even their present wages give workingmen only about the equivalent in purchasing power of the pre-war level; while clerks and employes of state and commerce have only about two-thirds of pre-war purchasing power.



Exhibition halls, 1928. Cologne. Adolf Abel

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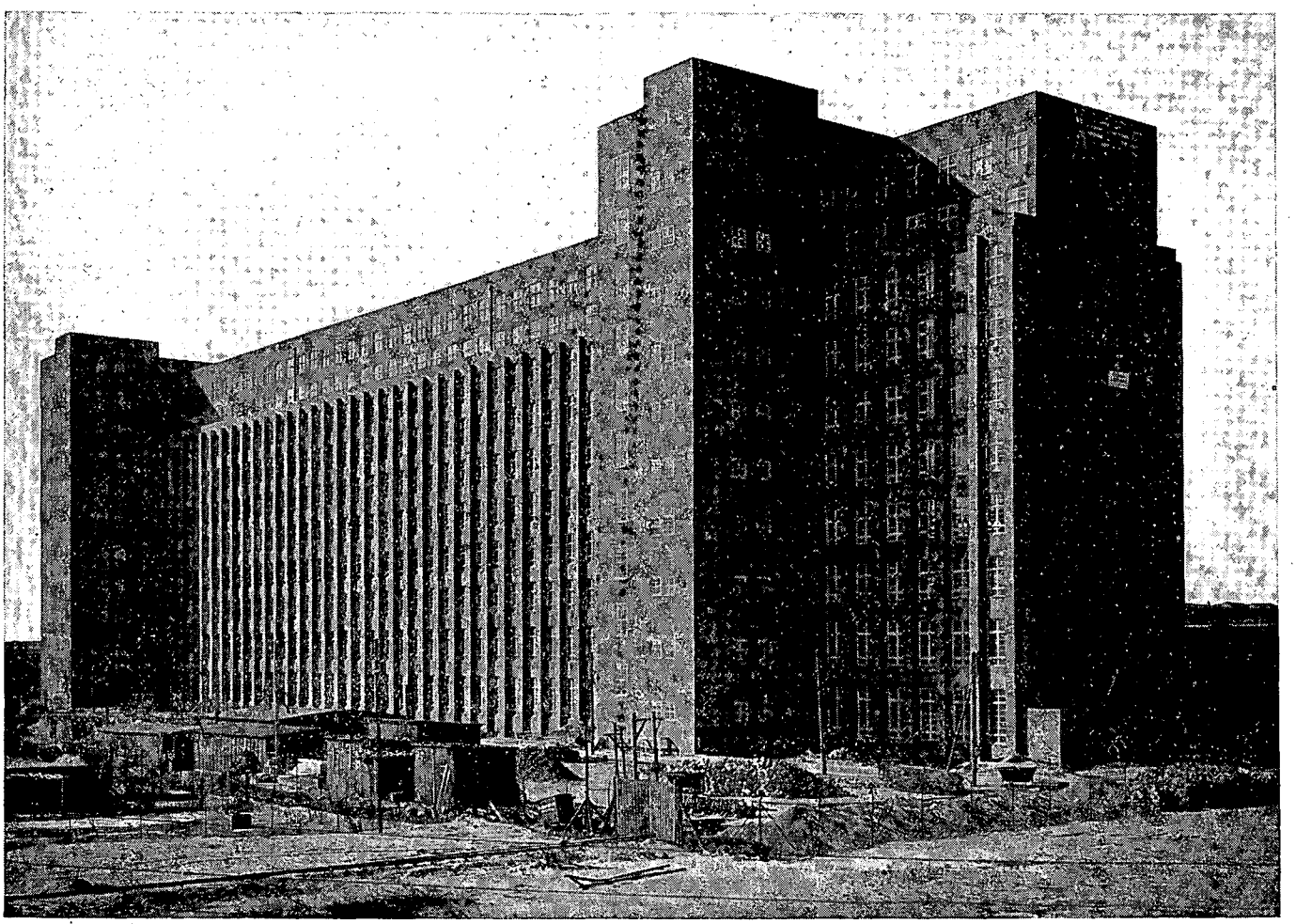

Electrical factory, Siemensstadt near Berlin. Hans Hertlein

The high tax on rent, in Prussia alone, brought $200,000,000 (1926) and it is an object of just complaint that of this sum only $33,000,000 was used for building new houses. As the cost of building has gone up to 180 per cent, building of new houses is possible only with public or semi-public money (at about 4 per cent instead of 10 per cent or more interest) given at rates far below market price. The place of the incapable tenement builders of pre-war time has now been taken by large trust companies who receive their cheap money for mortgages from state, cities, state insurance companies and labor unions.

These trust companies are by far the most important builders in the new Germany. The largest of them, the *Gagfah,* prides itself upon having built 16,000 homes since the War. The total number of homes built from 1919 to 1927 is 1,339,000. These trust and building companies handle matters in a somewhat bigger fashion than was customary before the War. But the quality of labor and materials they furnish is for various reasons considerably inferior to pre-war standards. These large companies also are often tools in the hands of the political parties. This fact passes as the explanation of much delay and even of sabotage.

Here must be mentioned the curious struggle over an American offer to build several thousand homes in various German cities. For a long time it agitated the municipal parliaments, and finally especially in Berlin resulted in failure to accept the offer.

In the flat country, housing conditions are especially serious in agricultural East Prussia, or in recently industrialized regions like Waldenburg where (in 1925) 41 per cent of all dwellings had only one room. In many parts of agricultural Germany, over-large holdings still damage the productivity of the country and are among the causes of unsatisfactory housing. It will be possible and necessary to create about 200,000 new agricultural homesteads within Germany without interfering with the possible maximum return from the large farm holdings remaining in the hands of the landed aristocracy, slow to surrender parts of their too-large estates. In a striking publication Count G. von der Goltz recently called attention to the fact that important areas of Germany are still less densely populated than those sections of Poland that until recently suffered from Russian misadministration. The education of the German farmer seems to be more backward than that of his fellows in Denmark, Belgium and other adjoining states. Very serious is the fact that Germany spends annually $500,000,000 buying from foreign countries meat, poultry, milk, eggs, vegetables, etc., that could quite well be produced in Germany if her farms were smaller, and her farmers more democratic and better educated.

Many figures could be cited to show the necessity for the greatest wisdom in spending the American money which Germany will need for a long time, and which will bring high returns, if the American (or other foreign) investor is wise enough to insist that his money shall be spent in effective development of the country rather than upon American luxuries.

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From Geneva

By WILLIAM E. RAPPARD

THERE is no better test of the foreign policy of a country than its attitude toward the League of Nations.

One great power, the United States of America, fearing entanglements and commitments, has remained aloof. Another, the British Empire, while also wishing to maintain freedom of action, is economically and politically interested in the peace of the world to such a degree that could but favor the league, though opposing development of its coercive functions. Another, France, aspires mainly to security and to the protection of her territorial integrity in Europe and beyond the seas. From the French point of view, clearly manifested in the drafting of the Protocol in 1924, the league is therefore above all a mutual-insurance company against aggression. For the smaller and weaker states, who have everything to hope and nothing to fear from the development and general application of the principle of arbitration, the main task of the league is to secure the peaceful and just settlement of international disputes.

WHEN Germany was about to enter the league in 1926, speculation was rife in Geneva as to the line she would take. That she would not imitate American aloofness was obvious. Her geographical situation in the heart of Europe forbade it and the general tendency of her successive governments since 1919 proved them fully conscious of that fact. But would she play the part of a great power by seeking above all to promote her political ends mainly by political bargaining with slight consideration for legal rights and duties? Or would she place herself morally at the head of the small powers in thwarting the manœuvers of her great associates by insisting constantly on the full and complete application of her rights under international law? As Germany was a weak great power, she was in a somewhat hybrid position, which made it difficult to forecast her answers.

The reply, after the experience of the last two years, is clear, although not simple.

IN the first place, Germany has consistently attached the greatest importance to the League of Nations as a factor of international relations and has pursued her policies in Geneva with a care and a foresight greatly enhancing her prestige. From the day of her admission, her foreign minister, Dr. Stresemann, has invariably taken a prominent personal part in the deliberations of the council and of the assembly; very ably assisted by Dr. von Schubert, the chief permanent official in her foreign office, and by Dr. Gaus, her eminent legal expert. Besides, in all the technical activities of the league, the thorough preparation and the diligence of her delegates have allowed them to play an important and often a leading role in all the varied fields of political, economic, financial, social and other international cooperation.

A second characteristic of German policy at Geneva has been the devotion shown by the Wilhelmstrasse to the ideals of international justice and arbitration. Germany, although she had not contributed to the setting up of the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague, and although, alone of the great powers, she was not represented on the bench, was the first and heretofore has remained the only great power to have signed and ratified unconditionally the optional clause of the statute of the court. It is therefore generally recognized that Germany is today, through her example, the greatest exponent of international arbitration and judicial settlement in the world.

IT was to be expected that Germany would be particularly interested in those activities of the league concerned with the carrying out of various clauses of the Peace Treaties.

It could not be foreseen, however, in what spirit she would cooperate. Would she seek to paralyze the league, as her permanent representation on the council would, under the rule of unanimity, allow her to do in many cases? Or would she contribute loyally to the execution of the Treaty of Versailles? Every one, I believe, admits today that she has deliberately chosen the latter course. She has, of course, always insisted on fairness and impartiality in such matters as the government of the Saar, the supervision of the administration of mandates and the guardianship of the rights of minorities, and the reduction of armaments. This has, in certain circumstances, led her representative to some animated public debates with his colleagues and notably with M. Briand. But in no case has she shown herself to be cantankerous or purely obstructive. Without welcoming all the provisions of the Peace Treaties, she has, in their application, done no more than to place her influence at the disposal of a policy of even-handed justice.

ALL in all, therefore—and this, I believe to be the general verdict of opinion in Geneva—Germany has, in the course of the last two years, deliberately and consistently "played the game." It is not for a foreigner to judge whether, in so doing, she has most effectively promoted her own national interests, although that would seem almost impossible to deny. What must be and is, however, very generally recognized, in all league circles, is that Germany has very much strengthened the league. As long as she remained aloof, it was perhaps in certain cases easier for the council to reach unanimous decisions, but these decisions themselves carried far less weight than they do today, because they were recognized as being the expression of the almost untrammelled unilateral will of the victors in the War. Thanks to her cooperation, this is no longer the case. Since Germany became a member, a unanimous pronouncement of the League of Nations is a decision which, so far at least as Europe is concerned, represents the undisputed verdict of the international community.

History alone can judge what the league has meant to Germany and Germany to the league in the course of the last two years. But, as far as it is possible to prophesy, everything tends to justify the belief that the judgment will fully vindicate both friends of Germany's admission in 1926 and the policy her government has pursued at Geneva ever since.

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The New Germany

By GEORGE P. GOOCH

Author of Germany, etc., editor of the Contemporary Review, co-editor, with Harold Temperley, of the British Documents on the Origins of the War

"BISMARCK," declared Georg von Bunsen in a famous phrase, "made Germany great and Germans small." Defeat, we may now add, has made Germany smaller and Germans larger.

It is a familiar truth that victory brings spiritual temptation, and that suffering is often the only path to redemption. The rapid growth in power and wealth was enough to turn the head of any nation, and the traditional subservience of German citizens enhanced the prestige and self-confidence of their rulers. Herder described his country as the land of obedience; and in Hegel's Philosophy of Right, the greatest of German contributions to political philosophy, the individual seems dwarfed by the might and majesty of the state. The Englishman, it has been said, believes that he can do anything; but the German respects *expertise,* and is used to regard government, like chemistry or engineering, as the task of the expert. In his brilliant volume, Imperial Germany, published in 1913, Prince Bülow confessed that his countrymen, despite their shining qualities, were an unpolitical people; and indeed the failure of the Reichstag to employ its control of finance as an instrument for extorting further instalments of self-government, like our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, cannot be explained by political inexperience alone.

In the Frankfurt Parliament of 1848-9—"the Professors' Parliament," as it was called by its foes—the cry went up from hundreds of patriotic throats for liberty and unity. When, however, the timidity of Frederick William IV and the iron will of Schwarzenberg toppled over the edifice of the professors like a house of cards, the road was cleared for Bismarck, and thenceforth unity was secured at the price of liberty.

Except for a handful of radicals, the bourgeoisie of the imperial era was satisfied with its lot, and prosperity blunted the desire for self-government. The Socialists, it is true, clamored for democracy; but they urged it as an instrument for obtaining social and economic changes to which the bourgeoisie was generally opposed. Indeed, the rapid rise of the Socialist Party strengthened the government by making it difficult for a homogeneous and determined opposition to arise.

How long this relative contentment would have endured had not the World War broken the crust of tradition, it is impossible to say; but the lame conclusion of the mutterings in the Daily Telegraph and the Zabern crises suggests that the constitutional status quo was never very seriously threatened. To those who share the opinion of Pope,

> For forms of government let fools contest;
> That which is best administered is best,

the lack of political self-determination will seem a trifling affair. If, on the other hand, we regard it as the rightful ideal of a well-educated and highly civilized community, its absence will appear as a grave national disability, for which power and prosperity are no adequate substitutes.

MILITARY defeat, combined with bankrupt statesmanship, led to the revolution of November 1918, the Treaty of Versailles and the Weimar Constitution. For the first few years of peace, the whole energies of the nation were absorbed in the desperate struggle to live. But as the economic situation began to improve with the stabilization of the currency, the international situation with the Locarno Pact and the entry of Germany into the League of Nations, and the political situation with the election of Hindenburg to the presidency, it became clear that, despite the Dawes payments and other burdens and disabilities, she was once again on the upward path, and that new possibilities were coming within her range. At last the dreams of 1848 could be fulfilled, and the nation could be both united and free.

A Republic with universal national suffrage at the age of twenty, a chancellor responsible to the Reichstag, and an elected president, provided a more consistently democratic constitution than is possessed by any other great power in Europe. Indeed, the ringing in of a republic in Germany registers the greatest accession to the forces of self-government in the western world in the present century. The domination of Fascism in Italy and Spain makes it a source of all the keener satisfaction to believers in democracy to watch the growing determination of the German people to maintain the political liberties they have won.

For no modern nation can relinquish the power to govern itself without spiritual impoverishment more than offsetting any material gains that may come from dictatorship. Possessing as Germany does a tradition of hard work, a genius for applied science, and a rare capacity for large-scale organization, it is steadily recovering its place in the European family. It is of good augury that an overwhelming majority, learning wisdom from their mistakes and their sufferings, have come to realize that it is both their interest and their privilege to cooperate in building up a pacific democracy in which the individual citizen will count for more than ever before, and the rich qualities of the German soul will find more unfettered expression than has been possible in Germany at any time since the Frankfurt Parliament.

To an Englishman who owes an immense debt to German scholarship and who regarded the War as the greatest tragedy of our age, no scene in the European drama of today arouses more interest and sympathy than the attempt of Germany to rebuild her shattered life on deeper and more enduring foundations.

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From a Paris Point of View

By PAUL SCOTT MOWRER

THE War is really over. Despite certain superficial signs to the contrary, the peace spirit runs deep in Europe's veins; and France and Germany, those "hereditary enemies" of modern times, are today more closely linked together, diplomatically, culturally, and especially economically, than at any previous period of history. Moreover, the *rapprochement,* already more than a year old, is continuing. It will probably grow. Certainly no effort to make it grow is being spared on either side. Arduous problems remain—the Rhineland occupation, reparations, Germany's eastern and southern frontiers, disarmament—but that they will be settled, and settled amicably, well-informed observers no longer doubt.

To speak of a Franco-German alliance is certainly premature, yet something very like this is in the air, and has been discussed by eminent persons on both sides of the frontier. An industrial alliance has already been realized. Whether or not a political alliance will follow, remains to be seen. In any case, French sentiment toward Germany and the Germans at the present time is *at least* as warm as French sentiment toward Americans, British and Italians. And the significance of this new situation, throughout the entire field of world politics, is immense, for the interests of every other great power, including the United States, are of course affected, both directly and indirectly.

How and why, only ten years after the World War, has this remarkable Franco-German friendship become possible? France and Germany are neighbors. Economically, one having surplus ore, the other surplus coal, they complete one another. Also, the terms of the Peace Treaty, in matters of reparations, Rhineland occupation, waterways, and in many other details, compel them to collaborate. France tried at first to execute the treaty by threat of force, in common agreement with its Allies. But such common agreement was found to be impossible. French opinion soon discovered cause to suspect that the Allies, if not actually disloyal, were at least pursuing interests hostile to those of France. The hard saying gained currency that "a loyal enemy is better than a disloyal friend." In short, France, completely disillusioned with respect to its Allies, reached the conclusion that only by a direct understanding with Germany could the terms of the treaty be carried out, and the obvious common interests of the two countries be furthered. Sentimentally, the *rapprochement* has been rendered possible by the healing lapse of time, by the completion of reconstruction in France, by the stabilization of the franc, and by the new feeling of the necessity of European solidarity in face of the growing power of the United States.

A PHASE of interior politics should be mentioned here parenthetically. French conservative groups, while admitting the necessity of *rapprochement,* are still very suspicious of Germany. They prefer Fascist Italy, and would like to see a Franco-Italian alliance. Liberal groups, on the contrary, are chary of Italy, but feel very confident toward republican Germany. Recent political currents in both France and Germany are of a liberal tinge. The Socialists won the German elections: and in France—although the Right Center profited by a split in the Left—liberal votes outnumbered conservative. These facts are contributing to strengthen Franco-German friendship.

Diplomatically, the basis of the *rapprochement* was the Locarno Treaties. Equally important, however, is the economic alliance which followed. The steel, chemical, electrical and potash industries of the two countries are today so tightly interorganized that their interests are practically identical. The relationship is described by the Germans as *Arbeitsgemeinschaft*—full industrial cooperation.

IN a highly developed modern country, when the industrial leaders approve and desire an understanding with the industrial leaders of another country, they usually can find ways to influence opinion in the sense they desire. When the Franco-German study committee, founded by the late president of the Franco-German steel trust, met recently in Baden-Baden, it considered the improvement of press information between France and Germany, and the exchange of agricultural information. These same questions will be reexamined at the next meeting in Paris in January. It should be said, however, that the French government, in the last two years, has done a great deal to improve press relations. Very little news and comment likely to maintain or re-awaken hatred of Germany has appeared in the French papers. When phosgene gas exploded recently in a Hamburg factory, British and American papers made much of the incident, as implying secret German armaments, but the French press was quick and brief with explanations and reassurances.

A NUMBER of considerations may be mentioned as indicating the trend: France is full of German tourists. They are welcomed. Many of them visit the battlefields. German newspapers and magazines are on sale all along the boulevards. The German language is heard everywhere, and attracts no unpleasant attention. In trains, notices about not spitting and not leaning out of the window are now given in German as well as in English. German films are popular. German plays and books are translated. Leading German theatrical companies are invited to perform in Paris. The Comedie Française recently toured Germany —for the first time since 1808. There are Franco-German football and boxing matches. Elaborate exchanges of students in private families during the summer months have been carried out. An exchange, for purposes of industrial education, of five hundred French and five hundred German workmen each year, has been agreed on by the two governments. The bearded German cabby who recently drove his seedy hack all the way from Berlin, received an ovation in Paris; and Edouard Herriot, the French minister of education, received an even greater ovation when he visited the German press

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exposition at Cologne. The recent meeting in Berlin of the international confederation of associations of war veterans and maimed soldiers was attended by an unusually imposing French delegation. A colony of German youths has been camping this summer near the old battlefields of the Chemin des Dames. Payments of reparations in kind by direct arrangement between French and German firms are rapidly increasing. The French have big plans for utilizing for reparations German aid in French public works. Finally, the French and German ministers of foreign affairs, Briand and Stresemann, meet one another informally every few months, and seem really to have become personal friends.

On the other hand, the importance of outstanding differences must not be underestimated. Germany wants France to evacuate the occupied territories immediately. France would like to obtain certain financial advantages from premature withdrawal. Germany wants the reparations total to be fixed at once, at a low figure. France wants to link up any such settlement with a reconsideration of war debts. Germany wants to absorb Austria and do away with the so-called Polish corridor which separates East Prussia from the rest of Germany. France is opposed to any frontier changes of this kind. Germany wants France and other countries to disarm to the German level.

In conclusion, it should be added that, in the French conception, the Franco-German *rapprochement* by no means excludes similar understanding with Britain, Italy, the United States and other countries.

The Rebirth

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

TEN years of a German Republic! Ten years of incredible existence in the face of odds to stagger and to cause to despair all but the strongest characters. A country laid in the dust, with enemy troops by tens of thousands upon its soil; bled white and war-torn, its people starved, its treasury bankrupt; its government made over in a day from monarchy to republic; with no one able to surmise whither or where the ship of state should lay its course, only that there were rocks on every hand. On top of that, economic collapse; a beaten, tricked, and angry army to be repatriated; domestic bloodshed on a large scale, and then, the final stroke, the collapse of the currency—overnight the disappearance of all savings, securities, life insurance, endowments, provision for old age. . . . Who would have wagered a dollar on the survival of this country in such a plight, burdened, moreover, by a debt of reparations of a magnitude unparalleled in history, and to this day unfixed as to amount or termination in time?

Well, only those who knew the German stock, knew its solidity, knew its extraordinary fidelity to its traditions, knew its intense vitality, knew the absolute devotion of its masses to order, to work, and to progress. *"Ordnung muss sind,"* said Frederick the Great in the Berlinese of his day. He drilled it into his people as he drilled his troops into the best army in Europe, and the tradition of an ordered life has never faltered since. Only those would have staked their faith in Germany who knew that there were *two* Germanys; that side by side with caste, militarism, with a form of government in some respects still feudal; with an undemocratic bureaucracy steeped in the tradition of the mailed fist, there was the other and better side. It was Wendell Phillips who, in 1873, declared that Prussia then represented "the reorganized feudal system of the nineteenth century. . . . Prussia's policy is an effort to drag the world back three hundred years."

That was but one side of the shield; the other was the Germany of great souls, and great thinkers, the Germany of those noble and inspired civic administrators, teachers, poets, musicians, philosophers, dreamers and patriots.

But not even those who knew and loved this Germany could have foreseen the depth and strength of character which has carried this people through such a searching as by fire. One of the first American journalists to enter Germany in 1919, I witnessed at closest range the fighting in Munich, some of the disorders in Berlin, the unbelievable starvation in Dresden and elsewhere. Again I saw the country in the dreadful years of 1922 and 1923 when every German who asked of the Deity, "Give us this day our daily bread," was without the slightest assurance that he could that day get food enough to keep body and soul together. It seemed as if fifty years were the least period to be assigned for the recovery of a nation so hopeless and so prostrate. Behold, in ten years it has found itself anew, it has convalesced, this great nation, with a speed, a steadfastness, an indomitable determination to survive, a heroic courage without parallel in modern history.

The way is still long and hard and bitter. The lot of the average individual is not yet approximately what it should be. The scars are there deep and lasting; no home but mourns those who died on the battlefield or died of disease and starvation. But the road has turned; in the main it is to be seen for miles ahead; it leads straight on. A spiritual victory has been achieved of a magnitude not yet clearly visioned by the world nor by all the Germans, but infinitely greater than any Germany could have won had she entered Paris after the Marne. The conquered are further along in their moral and physical convalescence than some of the conquerors.

HOW shall Americans, especially German-Americans, regard the new Germany? It is a fact that the rank injustice and falsity of the wartime criticism of the Fatherland created a reaction in favor of the monarchy among those of German birth or descent in the United States which appeared inconsistent with their devotion to our own republican institutions. But they were not the only ones. There were Americans without number to worship at the Emperor's shrine and accept his decorations, to declare, as did the president of Columbia University in 1913, that if the Kaiser had been born an American citizen he would have been chosen President by his adoring fellow-Americans.

Nor were the early days of chaos calculated to inspire confidence. The widespread reaction from democracy which resulted after the War which was intended to save it, likewise had its effect. It cannot be denied that in a large section

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of the American public, who view what is going on from a distance, there has been doubt and confusion—because of the multitude of parties in the Reichstag, the continuance of bitter party strife when it seemed as if there should be only a united front to enemies at home and abroad; the pettiness of many of the issues, the failure—until the rise of Rathenau and Stresemann and the self-abnegation and patriotism of von Hindenburg—to produce leaders of first rank. It has all appeared to be not a revolution with a clear-cut vision, but a struggle for power by groups more interested in power than in progress, and there has been a disheartening appreciation, all too well founded, that while the people have been in travail the privileged classes have strengthened their positions, the *Nebenregierung* of big business has grown more powerful, the juggernaut of capitalism greater and more menacing, while a new internationalism has arisen, not of the proletariat but of the great capitalists, formed in the interest not so much of peace, as of world exploitation.

THESE things have come to pass. There is party strife of a character to make well-wishers mourn, and there can be no doubt of the increased power of capital, or of the significance of its international manifestations. It is true that the War and the revolution alike found the German mentality unprepared—another fruit of the Bismarckian policy of not only dividing the liberal opposition, but picking off its leaders—for the new and overwhelming tasks. It is true that the revolution lacked a clear purpose—but *it has succeeded*. If there are doubters let them recall the years after Yorktown until 1789 when our present American government was founded. Let them recall that this newborn Republic, an infant Hercules, has successfully strangled the serpent of Communism and the serpent of Monarchy; that it has demonstrated its good faith to the world by assuming the Atlas-load of the reparations; that it has reconstructed the governmental machinery and set its house in order when under fire; that by its solemn renunciation of any thought of reconquering Alsace and Lorraine, by its leadership which led to the Locarno Pacts, it has established a new and higher standard of national conduct, which will stand out in the years to come as the noblest chapter in the history of the twentieth century to date.

A bourgeois republic? Yes. A mildly Socialistic government? Yes. A country politically divided against itself? Yes. A country of parties which profoundly hate and distrust each other? Yes. A revolution so mild—save in the change of the form of government—as hardly to merit the name? Yes—yes! But a marvelous achievement, none the less. A republic freed from the Spartacists, which invites and permits its monarchists to put to the test of the referendum their desire for the return of the Kaiser; a republic where order flourishes, a government rebuilt under fire, but carrying financial burdens no one heretofore believed any country could assume; a republic emerging from chaos, with vitality, power and the spirit of good-will and world-cooperation—all by means of fortitude, willpower, and intelligence! Who can look upon this spectacle unmoved? Who so blind as to say that this Republic is else than a magnificent human achievement?

LET no American, and no German-American, withhold his aid or his admiration. Fortunately, there has been a marked subsidence of the passions and misunderstandings of the War. Of this a striking proof is the cheering in Madison Square Garden last November of the team of German officers who won the international trophy offered at the Horse Show. These men were of those who ten years ago were fighting Americans; when they defeated the Poles and the Americans, the entire audience cheered, while the band played a German national anthem. A year earlier the mayor of New York called for three cheers for a great German runner, Dr. Peltzer, and the whole audience stood uncovered while the band played the once reviled Deutschland Ueber Alles.

It is, of course, quite true that Germans traveling in this country sometimes have unhappy experiences; but when before were former enemies as well received and as publicly honored as were, for instance, the two Germans who flew across the Atlantic on the Bremen? This denotes good sportsmanship as well as good-will; a willingness to let bygones be bygones and not to hold an individual to blame. What is needed now is that this same appreciation of meritorious efforts be given by Americans to the men who, however falteringly, are essaying the enormous task of keeping a defeated, lately ruined, and politically dissonant people together. The influx of American capital into Germany is partly an evidence of good-will—although it is also evidence of the desire to pick up some good bargains. There is still opportunity for greater tolerance, for philanthropic aid, such as has just been given to the University of Heidelberg to the amount of $500,000 by Americans at the request of Ambassador Schurman—incidentally such a magnificent gift a few years ago would have drawn forth protests in Belgium, France, and this country.

THAT the German-Americans are not yet solid in their support of the new Republic is genuinely regrettable. The division among them was originally due, as has been pointed out, to a curious bowing down before the Kaiser because under him, or in spite of him, Germany flourished and grew to be the most powerful state on the continent. That some German-Americans loyal to our government should also have turned out to be Kaiser-worshippers was an anachronism indeed; that there are still some who openly dislike the new Republic is still more extraordinary. The number is believed to be steadily decreasing as the new form of government succeeds and the years slip by. Another ten years and any criticism will be purely academic—provided, of course, that the German government can hold at bay permanently both Communists and Monarchists. The former thrive on the unhappiness of the people, their poverty and discomfort. All the more reason why Americans of German ancestry should do their uttermost in the spirit of Ambassador Schurman to help in every possible way; all the more important for Germany is the fixing of the size of the reparations she has to pay. The world needs this new Republic when democracy is at such a low ebb and dictatorships so popular. It needs the *success* of this enterprise in democracy. Its failure would gravely affect the whole world.

As it is, in Germany the promise of 1848 is being slowly realized; the finer and nobler Germany is on the way to coming into its own, although its progress is obscured at times by its struggle with extreme radicalism and extreme reaction. That it still exists, whatever its compromises, is in itself a stupendous achievement. Let those who honor it pray that each year will give it new strength, new hope.

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Carl Schurz: 1829-1929

Centenary, in two Lands, of a Great German-American

ON the second of March falls the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Carl Schurz, foremost among those German liberals who came to this country after the abortive revolution of 1848, and have contributed mightily to the greatness of America. Plans are under way suitably to celebrate not only his remarkable place in the history of both countries but his contribution to the development of the whole liberal movement of the world. Especially in these days of the restoration of good understanding between this country and Germany, and broader exchange of their modern, cultural advantages, no note could be struck more helpful than that vibrating in his great career.

In both countries the centenary will be observed. The exact form which the celebration will take in the United States cannot be stated at this moment. A representative committee is being organized in New York, in whose name a celebratory meeting or banquet will be given; there will be also a demonstration of the German-American societies. There will be effort to raise a very considerable sum for the endowment of an institution for the permanent promotion of the inter-related cultural, intellectual and humanitarian interests of the two peoples.

Celebrations will be held also in Missouri, which state Schurz served as United States senator; in Illinois and in Wisconsin. The latter state is publishing a biographical volume, Schurz in Wisconsin, covering the period of his residence there and his political activities immediately prior to the Civil War. The Illinois German-American societies are devoting their Year Book exclusively to Schurz.

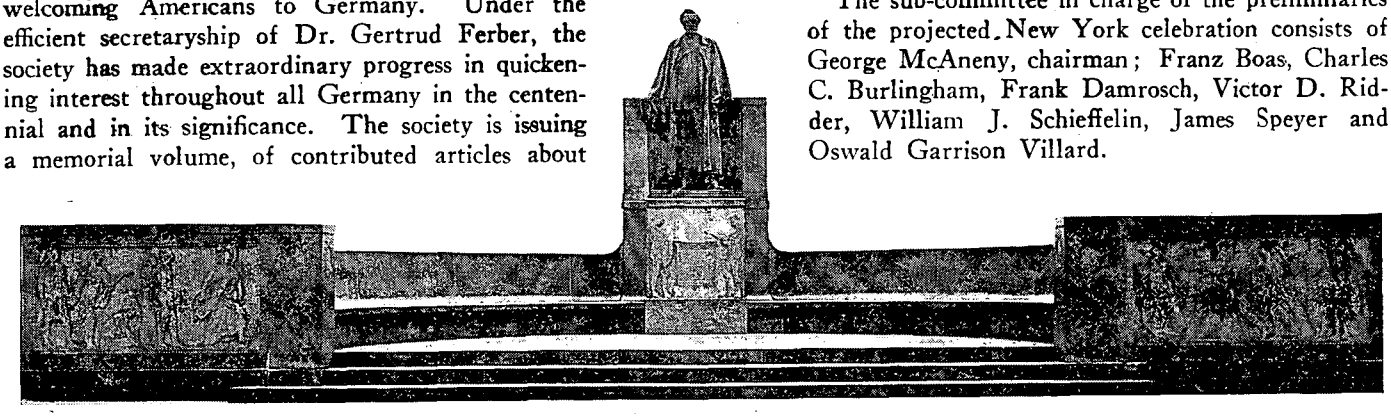
In Germany there will be celebrations in Berlin and Hamburg, in the city of Bonn, where Schurz spent his university days, and at his birthplace, the Rhenish village of Liblar. The promotion of the German plans will fall generally upon the *Vereinigung Karl Schurz,* the society devoted to encouraging German-American relations and especially to welcoming Americans to Germany. Under the efficient secretaryship of Dr. Gertrud Ferber, the society has made extraordinary progress in quickening interest throughout all Germany in the centennial and in its significance. The society is issuing a memorial volume, of contributed articles about Schurz's career, expected to include prefatory chapters by President Hindenburg and President Coolidge.

It is expected that there will be appropriate exercises both in the German Reichstag and in the United States Senate of which Schurz was a member.

AT the time of the death of Schurz in May, 1906, a national committee, under the chairmanship of the late Joseph H. Choate, raised a memorial fund approximating $200,000. From this, endowments of $20,000 each were given to the Civil Service Reform League, the presidency of which Mr. Schurz held for many years; to Hampton Institute, to which were sent the first Indians chosen by Schurz for government education, and to the Society for Germanistic Culture. Also there were published and widely circulated the six volumes of Letters and Addresses, of Schurz. The main accomplishment, however, was to erect in New York City, in bronze and stone, the imposing Schurz monument, work of the late Carl Bitter. It was unveiled in May, 1913, in the presence of the German ambassador, the mayor of New York, and one of the most imposing civil and military gatherings in the city's history. A notable address was delivered by George McAneny, then president of the Board of Aldermen, who long had been associated with Schurz as secretary of the Civil Service Reform League.

Six months after Schurz's death, on November 21, 1906, an immense memorial meeting in Carnegie Hall was presided over by Mr. Choate, and addresses were delivered by ex-President Cleveland, President Eliot of Harvard University, Professor Eugene Kuhneman, president of the University of Breslau, Charles J. Bonaparte, secretary of the navy, Richard Watson Gilder, Professor Schumacher of the University of Bonn, and Booker T. Washington. Those who were at that meeting well remember its extraordinary character, the surging about the hall of many thousands unable to gain admittance, and the demonstration of reverent and affectionate feeling within the hall, almost unprecedented in the history of New York City.

The sub-committee in charge of the preliminaries of the projected New York celebration consists of George McAneny, chairman; Franz Boas, Charles C. Burlingham, Frank Damrosch, Victor D. Ridder, William J. Schieffelin, James Speyer and Oswald Garrison Villard.



The Carl Schurz Memorial at Morningside Drive and 116 Street, New York City

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Letters & Life

In which books, plays and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

Do You Know This Germany?

EUROPE: *A History of Ten Years, by Raymond Leslie Buell. Macmillan. 428 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
GERMANY, *by G. P. Gooch. Scribner's. 360 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
A SHORT HISTORY OF THE WORLD: 1918-1928, *by C. Delisle Burns. Payson and Clarke. 473 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
RISE OF THE GERMAN REPUBLIC, *by H. G. Daniels, Scribner's. 292 pp. Price $4.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE GERMAN REVOLUTION AND AFTER, *by Heinrich Ströbel. London. Jarrolds. 320 pp.*
REPUBLICAN GERMANY, *by Hugh Quigley and Robert E. Clark. Dodd-Mead. 318 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE STABILIZATION OF THE MARK, *by Hjalmar Schacht. Adelphi. 247 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL, AND POLITICAL, STATE OF GERMANY, *by Peter P. Reinhold. Yale University Press. 134 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE MYTHOLOGY OF REPARATIONS, *by Robert Crozier Long. Duckworth, London. 199 pp. Price 6 shillings.*
GERMANY: TEN YEARS AFTER, *by George H. Danton. Houghton-Mifflin. 295 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
HISTORY OF REPARATIONS, *by Carl Bergmann. Houghton-Mifflin. 333 pp. Price $6.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE NEW GERMANY, *by Ernst Jäckh. Oxford University Press. 103 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

Cover of the German book publishers' quarterly

"YOU are a man of some intelligence," said the editor to me. "You have never been in Germany and do not know the language. You are not a historian. Take these books and tell our readers how they can use them to get a picture of this Germany of 1919-1929. You know the stereotype of the barbarous Hun-land you got from the War propaganda. Compare that with what you learn from these volumes—all in English."

That is the odd charter for this review. My qualifications are precisely opposite to those of the cosmopolitan goldfish who had been round the globe so many times. I have the parish viewpoint as it is molded by print. That is, however, the situation of most Americans. So I am a proper conductor of this Cook's tour via books. But if I could not fool the editor on my I. Q., I did on my credulity. For I never swallowed the Hun propaganda or acquiesced in the excommunication of Germany from civilized society: I always thought she was as civilized as the rest of the world, or as little civilized, and I held consistently the thesis that Germans are human beings. I must confess I was right.

EXPLORERS need maps. Nations have to be set into history and into the complex of nations. That is the excellence of Buell's Europe and Gooch's Germany. Buell fits Germany into the matrix of Europe this last ten years, with clarity, just emphasis on main points, and without bias. Starting from the Treaty of Versailles, you learn not only of internal Germany, the default in reparation payments, the problem of the eastern frontier, and the Dawes Plan, but the other factors in Europe that reacted on Germany—the threat of Soviet Russia, the demand for security by France, the creation of the League of Nations, and the vision of Locarno.

Here is a compendium of the ten most complex years in man's history that reflects vast credit on the scholarship, industry, and disinterested idealism of the Foreign Policy Association and its research staff. We await other promised volumes impatiently: they make international relations easy for the average mind. You will learn about Germany, and all Europe. The verdict on Germany is favorable (as in every book I read): "Germany, after years of tribulation and suffering, has staged one of the most remarkable come-backs as well as conversions in history, and taken her place among the truly democratic liberal states of the world." Compare that with the Hun-talk of 1917, or even 1923.

GOOCH goes back to Bismarck and the preliminaries to the War; then sums up the War as part of German history, and thus offers an easy approach to the post-war nation. The volume, one of that admirable series, The Modern World, with Scribner's imprint, presents the people as an entity with a soul. The chapter on the German Mind is useful in orientation for Americans, though no chapter or library ever explains that mixture of metaphysics, materialism, sentiment, and psychological ineptitude. Keyserling's study, in his Europe, helps you see what a German makes of himself. Gooch gives the whole picture and you begin to get landmarks for thought: the Revolution, Versailles, the Weimar Constitution, Counter-Revolution (first by Spartacists, later by reactionary militarists), Reparations and Economic Disintegration, and now Economic Reconstruction. It is a grimmer tale than most of us ever realized, but as H. A. L. Fisher says in the preface: "Gooch has shown the courage, the steady impulse to self-improvement which persists despite the darkest discouragement,

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in the soul of this remarkable people." This Englishman has done justice to Germany in a study packed with fact and pointed analysis.

TO get world history as a background, you will find C. Delisle Burns an interesting though not profound guide in his 1918-1928; and to understand the outside political currents that swirled around Germany, especially the English-versus-French struggle, read Frank Simonds on How Europe Made Peace Without America, published by Doubleday.

H. G. DANIELS was correspondent of the London Times in Berlin; his Rise of the German Republic has a journalistic clarity and realism that serves to untangle the confusion that followed the Kaiser's abdication. The revolution just happened; and the comparatively peaceful transition from the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils to constitution-making at Weimar was really based on the patriotism, common sense, and stability of the German people, guided by Ebert and the Social Democrats. True, the radicals talked away their chance of a revolution *á la Russe,* and the reactionaries accepted Ebert as an alternative to chaos, but somehow this middle course seems of the very nature of the German with his sense of order and respect for authority. It turned out a bougeois revolution; its stop-gap promises of socialization have never been realized, for it did not crush the power of industrialists or agrarians. But when you recall, as Daniels does, that Ebert had to demobilize the soldiers, institute the promised social reforms, and supply food, set up an interim government, restore order, maintain the existing administrative machinery, revive some form of constitutional legislature, and *make peace,* the wonder is not that he compromised, but that Germans did not slump into chaos.

FOR a critique of this failure of the Socialists to win more permanent gains for Socialism, you will read Heinrich Strobel's The German Revolution, with its anger at the futile murders of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and its good old Socialist dialectic and verbosity. Strobel adds his evidence that the revolution was symbolic of the German people, rooted in pre-war Socialism and war-time compromises.

FOR me, the drama and thrill are in the revolution; later things were heroic but drab. The flight downward of the mark and the profiteering were grotesque and cruel; yet the story of the new economic Germany as told by Quigley and Clark offers an intellectual excitement of a rare kind. This book seems the most profound of the list, especially in its analysis of the new industry. Here is a picture of the future, rich with lessons for this age of machines, cartels and world trade, pursued with an almost metaphysical zeal. I do not recall any other study of industry so modern or, shall I say, so philosophical?

This is the Germany we must take into account, menace or promise the authors cannot say. "But one sees as yet no reason to despair of the German Republic, to doubt of its future, or to disbelieve in the possibility of a liberal Germany becoming one of the buttresses of peace . . . to disbelieve in its future is to disbelieve in the future of Europe." Survey readers will enjoy the chapter on labor and the trade unions, with its appraisal of German social reforms, and its hint at the significance of that new supplement to parliamentary government, the National Economic Council. This House of Vocations is not powerful, but something like it is inevitable in the modern state.

IF you like to read giant and incomprehensible things, as I do, until your wits gets numb and you seem to be in topsy-turvy land where drunken magnitudes produce an exhilaration beyond good or evil, by all means dip into post-war German finance in Schacht on the mark, Reinhold on inflation, and Long on The Mythology of Reparations. This is the unrealest place I ever visited where budgets dance tarantelles, where there were not enough print-shops to turn out valueless money enough to run a war, where the internal debt of Germany was paid with fifty pounds in gold, and where the creditors were afraid to bring home the bacon after Germany stored it up in the Reichsbank.

Can wealth in masses be transferred or can't it? Mr. Long thinks it can, and S. Parker Gilbert has just voted aye, but I still reserve my opinion. No wonder the international bankers run the world: they alone know what they are talking about—and at moments I doubt whether they do. I did catch two ideas, though. One, that economics like all else depends, as Reinhold says, on imponderables; and two, that the creation of the renten-mark out of thin air by an act of will in the German people was one of the triumphs of the human race. People who can stop a debacle by pure faith in themselves are an asset to this race of ours. You could stop war that way!

Excellent as these books are on events, political chronology, economic data, and international relations, they leave me groping. What I want is the story of the German people—how they lived, died, hungered, cursed, suffered, and restored themselves to pride and hope. Human drama, not budgets, makes history. Hunger is not a differential exponent in a chart, but something in the belly that does things to your soul. What of the women of Germany—these historians do not mention them—but I know they served and suffered. What of the suicide rate? Infant mortality? Cynicism—license—art—literature?

IN Germany: Ten Years After, I found something of the human side of the nation. This exchange professor went around with his eyes open, recording the minutiae of everyday living and how the people think and feel. Having been in China, he has Chinese and American criteria with which to compare Germany. It throws real light on housing to learn that people make up "exchange chains" to get houses: they work out a move from Kiel to Halle for one man, the Halle fellow moves to Leipzig, and so perhaps the originator gets finally a roost in Berlin. Otherwise they cannot move, for there are no houses. Some of Mr. Danton's pictures are true of all Europe, but many express just the plain day's life of Germans. He is easy reading after the esoteric symbolism of the financiers. There is a kind of homey feeling about learning that few Germans know the Saturday Evening Post and that the best-known American newspaper is The Christian Science Monitor. Life, after all, is not an institution, but a succession of trivial or moving moments of eating, bathing, getting warm, seeking amusement, making love. The official historians have made much of the laws of Germany, and not enough of the songs.

That these books praise Germany, after making an honest assessment of her progress, is a fine omen. Propaganda is futile if even ten years after war we get the truth. This spirit of reconciliation among equals is what she most needs.

LEON WHIPPLE

TOO late for comment in Leon Whipple's bird's-eye view of recent books in English about the new Germany comes one from the Johns Hopkins Press—The Government and Administration of Germany—an exhaustive examination of the new government, by Frederick F. Blachly and Miriam E. Oatman (770 pages including index, $5 of Survey Graphic). Its scholarly quality and comprehensive scope may be inferred from the auspices under which it is issued. Obviously it will displace all previous works in English on the German governmental system.—J. P. G.

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OUTRIDERS OF GERMAN INDUSTRY

(*Continued from page* 572)

liquid sulphur which it produces a day as a by-product make it a small mine—its output one-tenth of Germany's supply. Its triumphant salvage of the despised lignite is such a revolution as might save the British coal industry. Successful artificial production of fuels as well as fertilizer will make the German Republic self-contained, economically, in a sense that the old empire was not, and as Dr. Friedrich Bergius, the inventor of the process for hydrogenizing lignite, points out, their exploitation may become a force for peace in that it eases the world-wide scramble for oil fields and the international tensions that go with it. However that may be, among the executives and scientists I met at Leunawerk, there was zest of high adventure, the sense that they were prospecting the universe, with the sky no longer the limit. Were they not in twelve months rifling the nitrogen from seven hundred and seventy million cubic meters of air?

LAST May the I.G. held its third general meeting at Frankfort, its statements showing a net profit of $25,000,000 for 1927, and a dividend of 12 per cent on outstanding shares was announced. Under the ramified organization of the cartel, which produces everything from heavy chemicals to pharmaceuticals, films, magnesium alloys and artificial silk, the operating staff of such a unit as Leunawerk is free from fiscal and sales responsibility and can center on production. It is technical and administrative, therefore, rather than commercial in its personnel: two widely experienced directors (one of them the inventor of methanol), two associates who are out through the great plant every morning visiting the heads of divisions, and eight division heads, all engineers or chemists, responsible for such departments as power, salts, machinery, construction. Three thousand instruments of measurement and record keep the office in touch with developments in a web as sentient as it is precise. Twice a week there is a meeting of the entire technical staff not only for the exchange of plant information but to put them abreast of advances in applied science throughout the world.

Eighteen thousand workers are employed at Leunawerk, 3,000 office workers and officials, of whom 200 are academicians, 72 of them chemists. About 7,000 employes are in fabrication, working three shifts of eight hours each. The rest are skilled men working a nine-hour day. There is the usual works-council set-up, with an executive committee of three free from regular work and on company pay to look after the interests of the men. In general, I was told at headquarters that the industrial relations were good; yet I could not disabuse my mind of the notion that the scheme of works representation was looked upon more or less as a legal necessity; the working force itself as a mechanical necessity, its human peculiarities something to be put up with by men whose minds were engrossed in the more exact drama of chemical production on a grand scale. I picked out a picture of a strip mine which showed men at work. It seemed they were installing the mine equipment. An official offered me instead one which showed what looked like a devastated canyon with a tremendous caterpillar-like excavator drawing up the brown coal and not a man in sight. "That other one looks as if we didn't mine by machinery," he said. And the buildings that I tramped through bore out the same impression—rows on rows of charts and self-registering dials, deserted-looking power houses with the self-contained hum of dynamos; within walls, batteries of crystallizers and compression pumps and the solitary nave-like settings of converters; without, the shadows of superb cranes and the rattle of conveyors; and everywhere the intricate tools by which work went forward in temperatures no man could suffer, under pressures no man could withstand, with chemicals and combustibles devastating if loosed. It seemed to me the human element was subordinated at every point in its ranges below the expert level. On the other hand, with these scientist-executives coming up through the universities rather than through industrial life, and the German universities many of them centers of political reaction, there is the chance that a caste system will crystallize as it did in the pre-war military establishment; the old story of the officers' mess repeating itself in terms of the gap between the laboratory and the locker room.

The chemists and engineers who showed me about seemed pretty free of this sort of thing themselves, and insofar as it existed at Leunawerk there was an explanation in the history of the plant.

The works were built in war-time, and young men from all parts of Germany were conscripted to man it as part of the war production. They housed many of them in barracks inside the plant and fed them by means of a commissary—an inert but useful element like nitrogen in the air mixture. Came the end of the War, and the overturn of the old regime; the management seems to have gone on with its convenient labor "bins" as before. Came the Communist uprisings. Here was a natural nesting place for revolution with a bang to it. Here were young, detached men herded together with no loyalty to the plant and grievances to be played to. Here were barracks, commissary, and a ready-made arsenal for explosives and gases. Such a hive as revolt never knew before as a swarming place.

Communists took over the plant and held it for eight days, locking the officials out. It was said they were making armored cars in the machine shops. However that may be, they kept the gas production going, feeling that as long as they did so, they were safe from attack. Ultimately, the Reichswehr rolled up some field guns and sent shot into the works. A hydrogen oven exploded. That was enough. The revolutionists decamped. Something like eighteen hundred were rounded up, only to be let out later under the general amnesty for political prisoners.

The works were closed for some time, the whole force dismissed: when reopened, only men over twenty-five were employed, married men preferred, women excluded, and the company has since been busy in home-building and encouraging housing enterprises in the neighborhood. So if the management, with its highly developed staff organization, regards crude human nature as something to be dealt with like a gas, the less volatile types preferred, and arrangements made so that its explosions will do the least damage, there's works history behind them. That, however, would be the approach of the chemist, rather than that of the biologist or the historian. They are operating not only in the field of natural science, but in the midst of a modern self-governing Republic; and while they can juggle their gases under alien temperatures and enforced pressures, they must live with their times. And so long as a working force is regarded like brown coal to be excavated as needed from the banks of society, rather than something that must grow and have an organic life of its own like the fields above the pits, there is bound to be a conflict between these tremendous mechanisms science and industry are erecting, and the human element they subordinate. At Limburgerhof near Oppau, the I.G. has an agricultural experiment station where scientific studies are made of the effects of various fertilizers on different soils and crops to determine the most favorable conditions for large yields of foodstuffs. Tests are first made in pots, then in plots a meter square, next in small fields and finally on large farms. A score of offices for advice and consultation are maintained in different parts of Germany for men who farm, to ascertain their practical requirements and transmit to them the results of scientific experimentation. Why not such a resourceful, experimental approach to the organization and education of the men who yield the fertilizers and after all must be counted on to eat the food stuffs?

AT Beilstein on the Mosel I had caught a glimpse of the humble prototype of this great industry. There the ferry swings with the current of the stream. Backs and legs carry burdens to the hillside vineyards that dream about the ruins of Schloss Metternich. The village escaped the fate of the castle, and its ravine-like site folds and preserves a pocket edition of the farming community of the Middle Ages. The high-pitched alleys wind between houses three stories high and the first story of each is a cowstable, beside it the precious manure pile.

In flying from Geneva to Frankfort and then down the Rhine to Cologne I caught a glimpse of prouder prototypes of the great industrial plants. I could pick out the villages, like knots in the weaving of the earth's carpet; about them the patchwork of green and brown which stood for farms, their strip-like shapes showing the tenacious love of common folk through the centuries for a foothold of earth. And on the hilltops the old

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castles mostly in ruins. These had served a big economic function in their day as centers of the crafts and protectors of countrysides from ravagement. But their protection became coercion, and countrysides and towns rose in the long struggle with feudalism of which the rattle of crowns at the close of the World War was but an afterclap.

The great industrial plants are serving a big economic function in the reconstruction of Germany. With the searing effects of the War, the denuding of the creditor classes by the inflation, the burdens of reparations, they are vibrant strongholds in the revival of a more prosperous Germany. But with their great tools, their intricate processes, their scientific mysteries, their absentee ownership, their organization in great cartels, they may also become a threat and the individual worker dwindle to less than peasant status. It may be as difficult to scheme the collective participation of the common man in the new economic set-up as it must have seemed in their day to the overlords of those hills. Yet if history teaches anything, in the long run the commoners are not to be denied.

IN Berlin I came in contact with an industry pushing out another salient along the front of science. There are two great electrical corporations at the forefront in equipping Germany and developing its power resources. There is an epic in the new distribution of energy out from the cities so that the dynamic of streams and of fuel deposits is at the elbow of great regions. I was concerned with the fact that in their chief operations these two corporations marshalled their human entourage at the center of the political ferment, and in the midst of a more fully developed trade unionism.

The Siemens Concern is engaged in building a galaxy of modern plants on the outskirts of Berlin and seems to combine scientific alertness with that human sympathy which has made it the haven for war cripples. For example, over one hundred blind men are employed in a variety of occupations, devised with infinite resourcefulness. Many of its employes are women. It is apparently cooperating with the works councils which supplanted its old committee system, but one could not scan its elaborate welfare work without sensing that there its heart lay.

I turned to the other electrical combination—the A.E.G. (Allgemeine Elektricitäts-Gesellschaft)—and in the associate director of the department of central administration I came upon an executive who more than any other I talked with, sensed the organic part which the works councils can play in the new Germany. He went back to the young men (he was one of them) who came "out of the War, out of a lost War, out of catastrophe;" the disorder that followed, the old imperial regime out of it, the bourgeoisie not knowing what to do, the Socialists proving their stuff. His father was one of the two Democrats in the Ebert cabinet and is credited with being one of the joint authors of the new Constitution. To the son, Ernst G. Preuss, the ideals of political democracy there set up must have their counterparts in the going working life of the Republic. To him the national economic council (the Reichswirtschaftsrat), set up of employers, employes, consumers and producers, to which economic legislation is referred by the Reichstag, is too cumbersome and theoretical to really function, but there is vitality in building up the structure of industrial relationships from the bottom. Generally speaking, the works council law of 1920 got off to a bad start. To the workers it didn't seem sufficient; to management it seemed dangerous. In eight years it has proved its worth, he said, at the A.E.G.

His own experience was in point as he told me the story. It began in the time of turmoil, when every day there was another strike. Without military or police protection, the A.E.G. had to rely on the sobering realization on the part of the rank and file of their men that if their plants were burned or destroyed, there would be no work. A committee came to his office, calling themselves a workers and soldiers council. When he refused to treat with two dozen at once, the leader jumped on him. He was a boxer and his assailant went out the window. That night there came to him at his office three men who had the confidence of their fellows. They drew in others from other plants, all trade unionists, all Socialists, and formed a nucleus of responsible leadership, and he could say to the management, "Go ahead, the men will work with you from now on." Today, practically these same leaders who emerged in the crisis are the duly elected members of the A.E.G. works council. "Personally I don't look on the works councils as a necessary evil," he said. "They're a necessity. You can't treat with a howling mob; you can with a dozen trained men. Our German Socialists are not destructive." He represents the A.E.G. in negotiating the general treaties with the trade unions. The applications of these treaties enters into the company's relations with their 50,000 employes in their 300 works. There is a central committee of 30, with an executive committee of 6. There is a peace committee, before which come questions on which the workers' councils and the management cannot agree. It is composed of two representatives from each side with Preuss as chairman. He has never had to vote.

From a different angle, Franz T. Furtwangler of the General Federation of Trades Unions put the same picture of the works councils as a growing organism. To his mind they had taken nothing from trade-union activity; to the contrary, they had meant its extension to the factory itself—first as to conditions within the plant, and gradually as to the wider economic bearings of the day's work. He said to me:

> The councils don't understand balance sheets as yet. In the long run we hope to make them strong bodies. Now it is a question of education. They are just as strong or as weak as the trades unions standing behind them. In progressive firms they share in facing the problems of increased production. In the backward, it is just the class struggle over again.

STEEL, chemicals, electricity—how far has Germany turned the great instrumentalities for their production back from their service to war and death, back to the service of peace and life? It has gone far, swiftly, against great odds. But a puppy with its eyes half open could grasp that the reverse process might be as rapid and as competent. Tools and guns can be scrapped in our days, as three centuries ago, the castles on the Mosel were razed—but to less effect. We deal with new strains in these modern stock farms where molecules, atoms, electrons are crossed and bred. In the last, what emerges from the German stables will depend not on the rigors of outside commissions, but on what the world, Germany included, does with itself—on whether we discover an economic alternative as well as a moral equivalent to war; and a political solvent for both.

How far has Germany harnessed these stallions to its new carts of democracy? Who is to drive, for whom and whither? To these questions it is not so easy to give broad if unstable answers. They are questions thrown up by the social conflicts of a new epoch, as that other question is a hangover from the nationalistic conflicts of an old. We are dealing with a new republic, but with an industrial order which is in transition, shocked by the eager advances of science, and torn by conflicting forces of self-interest, some older than the empire, some newer than tomorrow.

Habits of mind are not changed in a decade. The German Socialist is politically-minded and turns to legislation. The German trade unionist is engrossed with wages and hours—the old values in collective bargaining. The German executive is absorbed in technical discovery and commercial success rather than in social invention. Short-sightedly, all three have neglected the potentialities of the works councils,[1] not perhaps as vents for grievances, but as trellis-works for mutual enterprise. But the framework is there, the first attempt by a western state to afford a structure for greater measure both of self-government and of cooperation in industry. And here and there that framework is taking on substance and design.

Comes the American with his scientific management, his formulas for increased incentive and production, and that framework—such as we in America have had neither the consistency nor the courage nor the patience to set up, other than piecemeal—that framework affords an opportunity at once for concerting initiatives and for organizing production rationally among a self-governing people alive to their stake in society.

Comes the Englishman, slower than the German in applying science, slower than the American in producing things, but with his riper talent for putting democracy to work and demonstrating that it can be done.

Comes the Russian, with his try for a short cut—spurring all three of them, spurring the German especially with a swelling Communist vote that will spell impatience so long as the better things of life for all lag behind either scientific achievement or political change.

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[1] For the keenest appraisal of this whole development see Bulletin No. 383. Works Council Movement in Germany, by Boris Stern. Published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor. Washington, D. C.

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about certain books

Occasionally publishers are fortunate enough to discover that a distinguished item or two from their seasonal lists refuses to retire into the limbo of last season's best sellers,—and has found a position of permanence. Of this small group are the two following titles.

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THROUGH THE BRANDENBURGER TOR

(*Continued from page* 545)

this winter of labor troubles which surely will have their repercussions in the next elections.

Few outside of Germany realized the ominous significance of the great lockout of iron and steel workers in the Ruhr last fall, lasting for five weeks prior to December 4 and involving upward of 250,000 employes. To those both in and outside of Germany who understood, it was an assault upon the whole industrial policy and even the political structure of the Republic. The truce arrived at is of the utmost importance; the fact of it shows that both sides realized its fundamental character.

It involved both wages and hours; never mind the details. The principle concerned was that of compulsory arbitration and the authority of the labor courts or boards, provided for by law. Their judgment had been supposed to be final; any strike against or after such judgment is illegal and unions may not support them. Unemployment insurance or strike benefits may not be paid to workers idle by reason of such a strike. In this case, after adjudication, it was the employers who struck. They refused to accept the verdict of the court and locked out their employes.

Against the employers in this struggle, organized and unorganized labor aligned themselves; but, what is more to the point, the government recognized the attitude of the employers as unlawful, and proceeded to pay unemployment insurance to the locked out workers. Without this aid the men probably could not have held out so long; as it is, their funds were practically exhausted, because the government relief amounted on the average to only two or three dollars a week. However that be, a victory of the employers would have wrecked the whole system of government control of industrial relationships cardinal in the theory of the new Republic.

Even the solution found in the agreement to accept the mediation of Dr. Severing, the federal minister of the interior, was an evasion of the law. With the greatest hesitation the workers accepted it, declaring truthfully that they had always abided by the decisions of the lawfully established courts; that acceptance of an extra-legal arbitration was tantamount to giving employers a right to rebel against the government. The alternative, however, was a general industrial war, surely destructive to Germany's slowly-gaining economic restoration, and likely to bring down the whole industrial structure. All parties realized this, and the conservative outcome is on the whole a new assurance of Germany's fundamental stability.

UNDERLYING all this are the two outstanding facts which must impress any observer. One is the taking for granted as never before that industrial peace and social welfare are primary concerns of government; the other is an unprecedentedly definite *integration of labor.* Post-war legislation in Germany recognizes that the relations between employers and employes are of vastly more than private concern. In other words, the old feudal relation, with individual bargaining about wages, is at least in theory abolished. Organizations of both employers and employes are recognized by law; minimum wages are fixed by collective bargaining under the eye of the government. Although only about a third of labor is organized, its solidarity is fundamentally assumed. The unemployment insurance, paying for six months at the rate of about half of the worker's ordinary earning-power, is provided for by compulsory contributions from employer and employe, with a government contribution of about 10 per cent; but on top of that is a government guarantee of the sufficiency of the fund. It was this last-mentioned fact that really broke the lockout—the power of taxation was behind the government's support of the labor side of the controversy.

There is still far to go. As this ill-settled war in the Ruhr so clearly shows, much that goes out to the world as accomplished is only on paper, or perhaps hardly more than aspiration. The German employer, especially of the lesser sort, is

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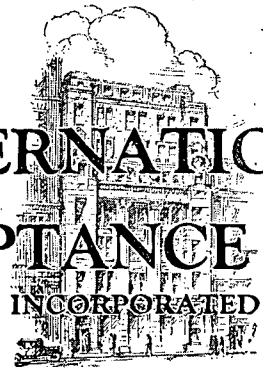

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still feudal-minded, regarding himself—and often regarded by his employes—as somehow of superior intelligence; jealous of letting his workers know any essential facts about the business in which they are participants. A mental attitude by no means confined to Germany!

There is another reason for this absence of candor. One man of large business interests put it to me this way:

"We are afraid to let anybody know how much we are making. The moment our noses show above the water, the government says, 'Hello! Here is something to tax!' And labor says, 'Hello! Here is something more for us—give us more wages!'"

Here is the common bond which unites all receivers of pay—whether called "wages" or "salaries"—all along the line of ostensible political sympathies, from ultra-Communist to ultra-monarchist. It was indeed a Communist who said to me:

"Just now all Germans are interested in only one thing: this—" and he rubbed together his thumb and two fingers.

No great wonder. Out of wages—wages of the capitalist in interest, rents and profits; wages of the worker of any sort—must come the mounting taxes, and out of the mounting taxes, totalled in the budget of the Reich, must come not only the expenses of government but also 1,250,000,000 of gold marks appropriation from the budget, in addition to 290,000,000 from the transport tax, 300,000,000 from the German industrial debentures, and 660,000,000 interest on the German railway bonds—for reparations. All conspiring to raise prices and cost of living in all directions.

THIS is not the place, nor has this writer any disposition, to discuss the justice of this situation. It is the most intricate and baffling, as it is the most fundamental, of the post-war international problems. It involves not only Germany's own internal condition and international relationships; the home politics of France in particular and in varying degrees of all the other so-called Allies including the United States; but the financial and economic interplay of the whole world.

It may be remarked in passing, however, that the whole structure of reparations and the Dawes Plan for collecting them without upsetting the financial synthesis of Germany—and perhaps of all Europe—hangs upon the primary assumption that Germany was chiefly, if not entirely responsible for the War. Should that assumption be substantially modified, not to say abandoned, the substance and technique of collection obviously would be subject to material modification, to say the least. Under that assumption, the collection of every possible pfennig toward the cost and devastation of the War may be pragmatically justified. In the absence of it, such tribute and its method, including for instance the continuing armed occupation of the Rhineland, are warrantable only on the ground and in the measure of Germany's helplessness under superior force; subject in the long run to the continuance of that helplessness—also and especially to the fact that the slowly-moving public opinion of the world, even in the countries benefiting, would not indefinitely tolerate a notorious injustice.

Meanwhile, and generally speaking, Germany has accepted the situation; consents, intends and continues to pay the stupendous war-tribute, to comply strictly with her agreement. Germans realize that this is vital to their credit; that any form of repudiation would be fatal. To a private gathering of bankers in Berlin last winter, one of the leading financiers said:

"Not only of necessity and political prudence, but for our national dignity, we should do what we must as if it were done voluntarily."

Underlying, however, is the feeling that they must pay not because they signed the Versailles Treaty, but *because they lost the War*—a different thing altogether! With what motives you please and regardless of who started it, Germany sat in a gamble which went against her. With a certain grim pragmatical humor, pretty much all Germans realize that *in war the loser pays*. It is told of a distinguished German jurist that when he first heard the terms of the Armistice he remarked:

"It looks as if the Allies had been studying what we intended to do to them!"

"In times past," a German said to me, "we have both paid and collected such penalties. It belongs to the technique and

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By

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philosophy—and the luck—of war. We have to pay; we shall do it as cheerfully as possible . . . *provided* we are not crowded beyond endurance."

Aside from her natural desire for a substantial reduction in the amount of the demand, Germany's immediate preoccupation concerns the definite settlement of her liability, as to total amount, or annuities *seriatim,* and especially as to terminal date thereof. No sane creditor will loan to a debtor whose liabilities are not merely unknown but unknowable. Under such conditions, no debtor can be either sane or honest. Fortunately, the process of coming to an agreement is actually under way, largely upon the urgency of S. Parker Gilbert, the American agent-general of reparations. Its propriety and necessity have been rapidly gaining recognition, even among the hardest-boiled anti-Germans, and the Allies, including France, have at last come to realize that the final settlement must be based not simply upon some arbitrary, superimposed estimate of Germany's capacity, but upon her own will-to-pay.

Just as these pages are going to press there is a temporary furore over Mr. Gilbert's fourth annual report; or, rather, over fragmentary cabled summaries, editorials and headlines. Apparently, Mr. Gilbert has described Germany's amazing financial recovery more optimistically than Germans expected or desired in view of the tremendous difficulties with which they struggle. This has awakened, especially in France and England, natural emotions against any mitigation of Germany's prescribed burden; has frightened some Germans and infuriated others. I personally have complete confidence in both the reliability of Mr. Gilbert's statements of fact and inferences therefrom, and his objective and at the same sympathetic attitude toward Germany. This confidence has reference to what he actually *does* find and say; not to fragmentary press-outlines or uninformed or disingenuous comment thereon in Germany or elsewhere. In any event, in the reconsideration of the whole business the truth will have to come out and final judgment be based upon it.

THERE could be no doubt of Germany's ability, under anything like normal conditions, to produce the values necessary to restore her economic status in the world; even the prodigious excess represented in the reparations demand. The productive power of a nation of sixty million people, highly resourceful, indefatigably industrious and economical, closely organized, charged with the dogged, indomitable German will, is incalculable.

But conditions are anything but normal. The wisest and most candid German economists and business men anxiously confess their inability to prophesy. One gets the truth: while there is on the one hand the obvious incentive to minimize progress and hopefulness in order to win sympathy and concessions with regard to reparations, there is on the other an equally obvious motive to exaggerate both in order to justify acceptance of loans and to bolster credit.

At the bottom of it, the fact is that Germany has been *buying more than she sold*—carrying a tremendous excess of imports, which inevitably means a mounting burden of interest upon loans. Germany's present prosperity has and for a very long time must have its foundation in *borrowed money.* This is the thing that worries responsible Germans. This is what occasioned Mr. Gilbert's warning a year ago, against "the constant tendency to use up all the additional revenues in fresh expenditures." He was talking especially about unnecessary public enterprises; bond-issues by states, communes and municipalities. Also, the federal government has taken over virtually all taxation, apportioning back a part to the localities. These, in some cases anyway, have been less than judicious in spending it. There is now a stricter control, and an extra-legal commission to supervise and visé such loans. This has bettered the situation; but there is and can be no restraint upon private borrowing.

DURING the War there was in and by Germany, as in other countries, not only immense consumption, destruction and obsolescence of existing capital—including the obliteration of most of a generation of productive human beings—but a complete cessation of replacements and of normal creation of

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new capital. And the inflation and collapse of the currency wiped out a vast proportion of security values. Incidentally, by the way, it all but wiped out the nation's internal debt!

In some cases, wise concerns during the inflation did their quick spending upon new machinery and betterments. That wisdom bears fruit now, but it was by no means general. The Germans had to begin again from scratch, with mostly obsolete and worn-out tools; facing the job of getting back to production sufficient for their own current needs, to meet the internal dead-horse costs of war (pensions, support of war-cripples, etc.) and, on top of that, staggering indemnities, including restoration of devastated territories and maintenance of the victors' continued occupation of much of the nation's most productive region. This to say nothing of the loss outright of a large part of such regions. Their former great selling organization abroad had been shot to pieces—much of it literally—and they lost both their foreign trade and the great mercantile fleet which carried it.

THAT merchant marine is building up again; a new sales organization is coming into being; markets are being found, subject to tariff handicaps. More or less steadily the margin between imports and exports has been narrowing. That is one of the chief anchors of the German hope.

The plodding character of the upward climb, so far as the mass of the people is concerned, can be seen in such an item as savings-bank deposits. At the end of 1913, the total was 19.7 billion marks (roughly five billion dollars). Compare with that 1.63 in 1925; 3.1 in 1926. In March last, according to Mr. Gilbert's report, it had reached approximately 5.5. I have no official figures later than May, 1928; but such figures as I have show that while the increase has continued, the *rate* of increase has been slowing down.

What became of that pre-war 19.7? Space limits preclude telling in any detail the tragic story of the inflation; many of the other contributors to this issue indicate it in one way or another—the swiftly-accelerating evaporation of values, when the object in life was to get rid of your cash instantly because if you waited an hour it might be valueless. The old money in terms of the new is now legally fixed at precisely *one-billionth.* Even savings-bank deposits, left untouched, have been legally scaled down. A Berlin friend of mine left fifty thousand marks, gold value, on deposit throughout the War and after. When he went to get it it had shrunk to eight thousand. As for the internal loans of the government, they have been revalorized on a scale down from 12½ to 2 per cent, the value depending upon the duration of your bona fide ownership. As if your Liberty Bond of $100 were now legally worth anywhere from $12.50 down to $2.

FANCY what that meant for old people, dependent upon the savings of a lifetime. One of my acquaintances, in a government office, told me of his old mother, left in comfort by his father. . . . Now she is in the poorhouse. My friend cannot help her because that debacle stripped him also to the skin.

Insurance policies, pensions, and the like, were paid by the government and by concerns that didn't altogether "go bust"—yes, they were paid, according to the letter of the contract; thus-and-so many marks; but, such marks! It was a great day for debtors—including the government—to extinguish their debts; but the creditor class was swept virtually out of existence. There has been in Germany a great shift in that respect. Now it is the wage-earner's day. He is getting his. And the new mark, worth approximately twenty-four cents, has gold behind it.

Of course, there were profiteers; some of them bootleggers in food during the blockade and the inflation, and all that sort of thing. Some gambled in the ruin of the currency of their own country. Germany, like other countries, has a new-rich class. We saw them swashing about in other parts of Europe at the very crux of the inflation. But the mass of the people were left strapped, and are now struggling out of it.

In all respects, Germany is more prosperous than even as recently as three years ago—life is a vastly different thing there; but to say, as some have said to me since my return, that "Germany is rich again, and preparing for another war," is sheer drivel.

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To nourish a big nation on a small territory is the fundamental problem, and the core of it is the depressed condition of agriculture. Never in recent times has Germany been able to raise her own food; she is less than ever able now. Food for man and beast constitutes a very large part of her excess of imports. Agriculture in Germany suffers from the same difficulties as in other countries, even our own. But there is in addition the fact that the War destroyed a large proportion of the experienced agricultural brains and hands; and now, with the rise of wages in industry, the best agricultural labor is moving to the cities. In the country there has been no commensurate gain in wages; the new borrowed capital is flowing into industry and business but not into agriculture. Thus far the scarcity of agricultural labor has not materially increased its wages. The figures of wage-increase between 1924 and 1928 show something like this:

Skilled	labor	per	hour,	from	60	to	105	pfennig
Unskilled	"	"	"	"	46	"	76	"
Agricultural	"	"	"	"	26	"	40	"

In addition to that factor, the old feudal leadership of agriculture, the Junker class, is on the whole densely reactionary, learning nothing and forgetting nothing. They angrily insist upon old methods and relationships, and truculently obstruct every measure of advance or reorganization; intensified in their attitude by lack of capital and the slipping of their grasp upon social and political power and prestige. Europeans generally have long known how to get more out of their land than Americans have yet found it necessary to get; but these overdense populations must farm yet more intensively; must organize production more effectively; must substitute agricultural machinery for human labor; must modernize old processes both of production and of distribution. Nitrates from the air, now said to be more than sufficient for Germany's needs, may solve one end of the problem; but it is not enough. There must be a modernization of brains, a complete change in mental attitude. In a few cases, young men in the Junker group know this; they are introducing new methods and have been studying the experience in other countries, especially our own West. When Germany applies to her agriculture the same quality of intelligence now so conspicuous in her manufactures and commerce, she will come nearer to feeding herself. A lot of Junkers must die first.

WITH astonishing rapidity the German "pre-war" state of mind has changed under the new conditions. Even a limited practice of democracy has worked its inevitable subjective miracle. You can still hear quarrelsome and warlike talk—just as you can in benighted circles in the United States. If anybody expected to find in today's Germany a meek and self-humiliating people with a sense of profound guilt and merited punishment, he must be indeed a guileless soul. Germany is still surrounded on all sides by nations actuated primarily by their own self-interest; some of them both jealous and vindictive; all of them under the spell of the old fear-traditions. Foreign troops are still upon her soil in the Rhineland. The wonder is that, of warlike, quarrelsome talk, one hears so little.

Disarmament, so far as actual soldiers, warships and weapons go, means little in comparison with a national state of mind. The museums are full of the paraphernalia with which wars used to be fought. The big wars of the future, if any, will not be affairs of regiments, field-guns, great battleships, or even of the submarine which has placed the battleship on a par with the ichthyosaurus. A single airplane, rising perhaps vertically out of a nook in the woods or from the deck of a small vessel in a tiny landlocked harbor, its exhaust muffled, can put out of action in a jiffy a regiment, a battery, a dreadnought; or destroy ten fathoms deep a submarine visible from aloft as a fish is to a kingfisher. Or with deadly gas smother a thousand civilians far from the fighting-front. Germany has an army, the 100,000 permitted by the Versailles Treaty, drilled to death and ready to furnish skeleton for a much larger one. Likewise a navy—a little huddle of cruisers, bare obsolete ghost of the great one that she lost. But, what is vastly more important, her great commercial air-fleet, manned by a force trained and disciplined in something very like military fashion; moving about the country with the precision and regularity of a rail-

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road system, is at this moment in terms of war worth an army-corps. Her vast chemical factories, at Leuna, Elberfeld, Leverkusen and elsewhere, at very short notice could turn out war-medicine.

Were Germany so disposed! Which she is not. Stresemann's attitude and utterances in favor of world peace are representative. By bitter experience this generation at least of the German people has learned, as perhaps no other nation in the world has learned, that there is nothing in the war-business. The greatest war-machine the modern world ever saw failed her and left her bereaved and bankrupt. Few Germans worth mentioning have any illusions on that score.

The account with Alsace-Lorraine is definitely closed. Germany has kissed those territories good-bye permanently. The armed occupation of the Rhineland, bitterly resented as it is, is thought of as a subject for diplomatic bargaining and soon to be over with in any event.

Even the bitter resentment involved in the so-called Polish Corridor and Dantzig, the loss of Posen and Upper Silesia, and the eastern frontier in general, at mention of which every German of whatever class sees red—these are not material for war in the present German state of mind. A representative and exceedingly influential official of the Foreign Office said to me this significant thing, when I spoke of the "Polish question" as now the smouldering match in the European powder-mill:

"I think not. Leave us this one international question to be excited about. We shall continue to shout about it, but we shall not fight. Very soon you will see the Poles themselves concluding that Germany's friendship is more useful than her enmity. Time and experience are working for us on that open sore."

Germany wants no war with anybody. Her ambition is, first to work somehow out of the financial and economic Slough of Despond; then to take high place if not leadership in the world of industry and commerce. To this all Germans bend every effort, with extraordinary unity of purpose, despite all discords.

WHY did Germany not "go Bolshevik," as Russia went? There was a time when it seemed more than possible.

"You can state it in three words," said a keen American newspaper man, long resident in Germany. "Literally three words: *'Ordnung muss sein.'* 'There must be order.'" And he told me of an episode during a big Communist meeting. One walked across the grass to a better hearing-place. A Communist with a red band on his arm reproached him:

"Comrade, you are on the grass."

"What of it? Nowadays we do as we please."

"Not to walk on the grass—that is forbidden."

There you have it. The Germans are bred to it. From the cradle they have lived by *"Verboten," "Nicht gestattet."* When the old regime collapsed, there was a kind of palsy; nobody knew what to do in the absence of authority above. Not yet have they learned how to branch out into untrodden ways.

And before they start anything, true Germans must have an organization, and a minutely reticulated plan. The thing that chiefly delayed last summer the formation of the present Müller cabinet was the assumption that before they could begin they must have their program buttoned-up to the minutest detail.

Moreover, the average German is an individualist, desirous of owning property and thinking in terms of private possession. All the more, since the inflation wiped out vast masses of property in the hands of the upper classes, and increase of wages—now somewhere near pre-war purchasing power—has given to the lower a prosperity exceeding that of old. In one way and another the proletariat, the working people, have gained substantial stake in the *status quo*.

THE heaviest anchor of stability, however, seems to me to be not so much any traditional conservatism of the German temperament, nor any temporary or permanent improvement in the financial condition of the working people; as in the existence of an immense and thoroughly interwoven bureaucracy, the mass of public employes, rooted in their jobs. Not only in what we know as governmental departments but in railroad, telegraph and telephone systems and other public utilities; each with what amounts to life tenure and with vested interest in

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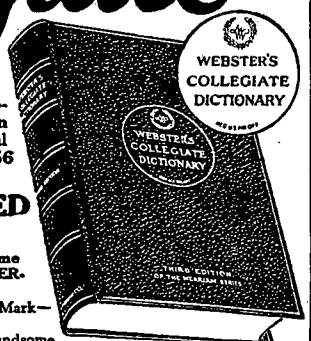

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the stability of pensions, sick-benefits, and so on. Add to that the great agricultural population, bereft in these days of the young and enterprising who have fled cityward, and the body of resistance to fundamental changes appears formidable. Germany has and had no such mass of completely dispossessed and oppressed as Russia had, with nothing to lose.

Furthermore, and quite as important: When with the collapse of the monarchy the power fell into the hands of the radicals, they were both unready and divided in council. The unbridgeable temperamental gulf between the two Socialist groups, one homogeneously German, the other spiritually allied to the Russian regime, automatically displayed itself. What remained of the military organization was turned against the really revolutionary movement, and suppressed it in the interest of the old middle-class capitalism. There was a moment, in the decision as to what *kind* of a republic was to emerge at Weimar, when the outcome hung by a hair. The choice fell in favor of substantially the old economic order, even though it spelled the end of the political.

Save in a narrow political sense, the word "revolution," however we may have practically to use it, is over-strong for what happened in Germany. The capitalist system exists there substantially unchanged. Nothing new has been nationalized, nothing confiscated. Even the breaking-up of the great landed estates, provided for on paper, has taken place only to a negligible extent, if only because owners must be fully compensated and there is no money for compensation.

Bismarck inoculated Germany homeopathically by his "state Socialism;" the public ownership and operation of most of the public utilities blanketed the Socialist program of his day. This indeed is the real reason for the chasm between the moderate and radical wings of Socialism in Germany. Moderate Socialism came to a Rubicon and refused to cross to proletariat dictatorship. Most of what older Socialists stood for in the United States is in effect in Germany. There our "progressives" and most of our so-called "liberals" would be Social-Democrats as a matter of course. The majority of them in the War supported their government, and in the revolution which followed it they joined cordially in the suppression of the ultra-radicals; just as would—and did—most of our progressives, radical-liberals, the majority of our Socialists; together with the bulk of organized and unorganized labor.

The Republic is not out of danger. It has disaffection in both flanks. The Nationalists and other adherents of the old order as well as many conservative-minded business-men, declare (with much truth) that Germany is at the mercy of the working classes. The radicals assert (likewise with much truth) that "Big Business has the Republic in its pocket." The lockout in the Ruhr came very near proving that! The truth lies between. Self-governing Germany is learning to compromise, and every day of normal procedure strengthens the roots of the Republic.

A THOUSAND topics tempt discussion. Many of them are dealt with in other articles in this issue. Some important ones must give way to space-limitations.

As I listened and watched I was constantly reminded of the old "Uncle Remus" story that I have heard often but never have seen in print. The old Negro was telling the little boy about a turtle, pursued across the desert by a lion.

"An' dis-yer lion he was jes' goin' to git him; but Brer Turkle he done clumb up a tree."

"But, Uncle, trees don't grow in the desert!"

"Ah knows dat—dey wasn't no tree; but Brer Turkle he jes' got to find one, and find it quick, an'—"

"And anyway, turtles can't climb trees."

"Ah knows dat, too. Ain't no turkle kin climb no tree, nohow. But dis one *jes' natchally had to!*"

Many times in Germany I told that story, of *Die Schildkröte, der Löwe und der Baum,* as illustrating what I was seeing. Mostly they roared with delight at the aptness of it, though some shook their heads, questioning whether in the end there would be any tree to climb. Anyhow, during nearly four months in Germany I saw Brer Turkle trying to find one and climb it—thus far with the courage and determination that constitute the better half of success.

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A GERMAN EMPLOYER TAKES STOCK

(*Continued from page* 575)

have my collaborators on the directorate see the picture which has persuaded me, and made me a sadder and wiser—yet a far more hopeful—man. I am going to do all that lies within my power to aid the men under me in positions as superintendents and foremen to see how they individually, and the workers, and the business which gives us our daily sustenance, will all be benefited by a change of mind.

I alone have the power through the economic system, through our type of organization, to lead in the new direction. The workers can't lead; they can't give orders. But I can. And my conviction by its absolute sincerity can be conveyed to the workers in the factory. I do not fool myself that this transformation is going to take place over night. Our history is too long and too black. But I personally am going to stop wringing my hands, going around in circles, pitying myself, and complaining about the existing order and its "social burdens."

THE solution of the industrial problem lies in the industrial field. It has not been settled in the past, it is not being settled now, and it cannot ultimately be settled by political means. Industry itself is the only agency which at any time can lift industry out of depression, bring a basis for confidence between men and management, lessen unemployment and restore prosperity. The time has come to stop placing the blame for ills on individuals and groups, on any system or lack of it, or on any pretty theory or magic formula. We are face to face with an unhealthy state of *facts*. I will grant every disparaging word about the muddle we are in; but the problem will never be solved by pitying myself or my country. What disturbs me is the question, What are we going to do about it?

The working man wants security of employment, at high real wages, under wholesome conditions, with the opportunity for promotion on his merits. I shall try to help him to satisfy these perfectly natural wants. There is no reason under heaven why I should be eternally doomed to fight the men who help me to run my mill. The struggle formula is out of date.

I have been amazed to read what the League of Nations through the International Labor Office has been doing in connection with social insurance. Most of the principles laid down in Article XIII of the Versailles Peace Treaty are already in effect in my mills. But I am not at all sure that, if every convention that has been approved and every applicable recommendation put forward by the International Labor Office should suddenly be put into effect in my factory tomorrow, the balance sheet would show an increased profit at the end of six months, or of six years. My workers might feel more secure in a way, but I question whether they would be one bit more interested in their jobs than they are today. For fifty years, we in Germany have been setting the pace for this social legislation, and since the Revolution, we have had a regular epidemic of it. Yet I wonder if our workers are really any happier, or enjoy their jobs one whit more than they do anywhere else.

But don't misunderstand me. All these various insurances surround the worker with security, and that is most important, as it tends to free the mind of the worker from worry, and release it for productive work. We employers in Europe refused to recognize the validity of labor's claims, and lost the chance to do voluntarily what now our law compels.

SECURITY provided, what then? *The vital spot is the job itself.* All the other machinery simply revolves around this hub. Whatever the system of control, whether Socialism, Syndicalism, Capitalism, Fascism, or Communism, the concrete hour-to-hour, day-to-day human and scientific problems do not vary. Under Socialism the machines will not operate themselves; under Syndicalism, a piece of leather will not magically become a pair of boots; under Capitalism power will not generate itself; nor with Communism in the saddle have we seen a four-inch belt doing the work of a four-foot belt. Under every one of these systems of society, human beings must be on hand in the morning and again in the afternoon; operation problems would remain operation problems. I am not frightfully concerned with how we got where we are, nor with where we may

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be theoretically a century hence, but I am tremendously in how we are going to solve the immediate problems for the greatest good to the greatest number.

I have not been very observant. My workers right now are surrounded by the following securities: health insurance, unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, accident compensation, medical care for himself and his family, legal rules about hours of work, factory accommodation, safety, etc., and representation on a works council. These securities were not provided through any efforts of mine; in fact, I have, through our Employers' Federation, been fighting for years against the introduction of all these "social burdens." But now I see that they are all to my advantage. My enemies, as I thought them, have forged a weapon for me and placed it within my grasp.

Upon this foundation of material security which had to be, I am going to build a spirit of collaboration. My company in the future will require the mental presence of every worker as well as his physical presence. The provision of these securities has removed a big burden of worry from the mind of the average man in my mill. This load must have weighed heavily. Of course they fought me and hated me! The next step is for me to provide leadership which will make it possible for these workers to cooperate with me in making the business produce more at lower cost, thereby creating greater wealth which should be divided more generously among all who have helped to create it. Here is a cycle which brings out what I see coming in New Germany:

1. Better management
2. Greater cooperation
3. Elimination of waste
4. Lower costs
5. Higher wages and salaries
6. Lower prices
7. Greater purchasing power
8. Increased production
9. Less unemployment, etc.

A spiral which is an improvement on the old vicious circle.

WHAT I intend to *do* is to call a meeting of the Joint Council in my factory within the month, and tell them of the changes which are planned. They probably will not believe me, but will suspect some trick in new disguise. I shall expect this. In their place I should be more than surprised and suspicious myself. But, having put my honest thoughts into as clear words as I know how, I shall then proceed to give the men on the council something constructive to do in the way of carrying out its ultimate reason for being, namely, "to support employers in effectively carrying on their business." I shall propose that the council shall hereafter be called "The Production Board." Together we shall set out to eliminate waste of time, effort and material; to lower costs and create wealth to divide in higher wages and lower prices. I shall propose:

1. To have this Production Board in consultation with management, select a man from within the company to be in charge of industrial relations, this man to be given the full confidence of directors, management and employes, and allowed a large share of responsibility in matters affecting mutual relations.
2. To have the Production Board draw up a waste elimination program which the whole factory can cooperate in carrying out. Here also a man must be selected to take charge, and the carrying out of this program must be his sole responsibility.
3. To start a system for the encouragement of suggestions from workers as to how methods, machinery, processes, etc., can be improved. To this end I shall propose:
   - A. That we tell the trade unions that the management will welcome their employment of their own engineer in the plant, to help the men to work out their suggestions in practical form, etc., and then discuss them with the works engineer whom management will appoint for that purpose.
   - B. That a definite and binding agreement be drawn up as to the measurement and distribution of savings or additional profits resulting from the work of the Production Board, to include adequate personal recompense for the individual suggestions and equal division of the balance of the profit among workers, plant improvement, and owners.
   - C. That we give more information about the business to everybody connected in any way with our operations.

This is only a beginning. Infinite patience will be required of us, and then more patience. But if the plan does not develop and produce really sound economic and human results, the reason will be that I have failed to provide the right kind of leadership. If I and my associates put as much thought into this branch of operations as we have put in the past into mechanical and financial phases of our business, we cannot help but establish a new order, profitable for all concerned.

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Wash Wounds *with soap and water*

When an accident happens, the cut whether shallow or deep should be washed clean as quickly as possible. Put enough soap into boiling water to make the water sudsy. When the water cools sufficiently wash out the wound with a sterilized gauze-pad or cloth. Cover with sterilized gauze.

NO wound is so slight that it may not become infected and cause death.

If a wound which breaks the skin is not promptly and correctly treated, there may be immediate infection from germs that are found anywhere and everywhere—streptococcus, staphylococcus and saprophytes.

It should be assumed that all accidental wounds may be infected.

During the World War medical science discovered that by using pure soap and boiled water, fresh wounds, big and little, could be thoroughly cleansed, thereby reducing to a minimum the danger of infection. In other words, the germs were literally washed out of wounds.

Small wounds, immediately cleansed and properly covered with sterilized gauze will, as a rule, heal very promptly without further treatment. But if germs are covered over and bound into wounds, or are sealed in by drawing the skin together, infection is almost certain and serious complications may result.

In applying soapy water to a new wound, it is best to use a pad of sterilized gauze. Any pure soap will do—liquid, soft or hard—but a liquid soap as free from alkali as may be obtained is best. Otherwise the wound may sting or smart. But the slight temporary discomfort caused by a liberal application of soap and water is of little consequence when compared with the protection afforded by a thorough cleansing.

Common sense must determine how long a fresh wound should be washed. But remember always, the washing must be *thorough* so that the soap bubbles may do their part and lift the germs away from the flesh. The water carries the germs away. The wound must be clean before healing begins.

Warm water that has been sterilized by boiling is safest and the utmost care should be taken to keep the fingers from coming in contact with the surface of the wound.

Wash big or little wounds with soap and water at once—as First Aid before the doctor comes.

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WRITING SINCE THE WAR

(*Continued from page* 596)

words and voiced new emotions, and brought creative writing into more direct contact with actuality. As conditions in the country became consolidated into normalcy, literary phrases and declarations which had formerly seemed able "to make the stones to dance," now sounded powerless and futile.

Another group of writers originating in this Expressionist School turned in its decay to classicism and the old conservative technique. Writers like Schnitzler, Hauptmann, and Thomas Mann, who formerly had been ridiculed, soared again. But they, too, had changed. Whereas Hauptmann had developed an Olympian aloofness, Thomas Mann was coming into closer grips with the problems of the time. A comparison between his older works—such as the Buddenbrooks, or Death in Venice, his literary masterpiece—with a new book such as The Magic Mountain clearly illuminates this change.

One of the most characteristic writers of this period of normalcy is Jacob Wassermann who, in his Jacob Wahnschaffe, has tried to give rebirth to Russian and Dostoievsky characters on German soil. But today the relations of man and woman, parent and child, social and professional life, are his themes.

Normalcy does not seem exactly to produce a stimulus for lyrical exaltation. No really great lyrical poets have appeared since the consolidation of the Republic. Poets like the musical Rainer Maria Rilke who died recently, Hoffmannsthal with his elegies, or the serene Stefan George, belong to the pre-war period and still continue to be representative in this field, satirical poets have taken the lead. The inherent contradictions in German democracy, and the conflict between hard reality and the theories written in the statute-books, arouse the ridicule of a generation that has experienced too much to be enchanted by phrases.

The age of automobiles and aeroplanes is not the age of knick-knacks, but the age of reality, of facts, out of which has come the interest in history and biography—in Germany as elsewhere. Even fiction today is adjusting itself to the new attitude, and one of the younger writers is presenting his books, not as tales but as mere reports of reality. Joseph Roth gives vent to this tendency. He represents a generation which happened to return from the War in his own words:

> We forgive nothing, we forget. . . . We do not revolt, we do not accuse, we do not defend; we expect nothing, dread nothing. . . . If scepticism did not infer participation, I would say we are sceptics. But we participate in nothing.

The demand for reality has contributed to the success of Emil Ludwig's biographies, of which the best known have been presented to the American public. Ludwig is the outstanding representative of German democracy which adores America and everything American. His capacity for draining the "human-interest stuff" out of faded documents of history appears a literary equivalent of that American "business efficiency" which is guiding the Republic to normalcy.

Standardization and the extreme dullness and mediocrity connected with new industrialism called forth on the other hand a wave of eroticism. The tender secrets of the heart were shifted below the waist-line. Nobody who just takes a casual glance at the book and magazine stalls can help but be aware of this. Yet, despite the many magazines praising nakedness, free sex life and especially homosexuality, no one has stepped forth to sing the song of songs for that part of the anatomy intended to be sat upon.

The new censorship law that was intended to stay the tide of rising "immorality" in literature, has been chiefly used, as radical writers point out, as a weapon not against licentious literature, but against social and political criticism.

All in all, no great writers who were not known before the War have been developed since the birth of the Republic. But we may venture to predict that if the present Republic lasts, it is bound to develop an art and a literature of its own that will mirror its achievements as community accomplishments, and implant a general feeling that the golden age of the few is the paradise of all.

YOUTH LOOKS IN, AND OUT

(*Continued from page* 556)

in favor of peace, the idea of the League of Nations—an American idea although not acknowledged by the American people—the outlawry of war, the voluntary renunciation of concessions in China: from such a standpoint all these actions are looked upon as means to an end, and this end expansion, satisfaction of imperialistic ambition. Of course, there are people in the United States who really take this attitude; of course, the war industries support this opinion—but there are such peole in every country. They are not truly representative. I firmly believe that the American people are peace-loving, for humane reasons and as a democratic nation; for practical reasons, because they have room for their people and need no territorial expansion; because they have every inducement to support settled conditions which promise prosperity.

For Germany a peace policy is the only conceivable line of action. Europe has many a crisis ahead; but we are unlikely to enforce any of our demands by threat of war. Indeed, we are beginning to develop new methods in our foreign policy; questions are no longer looked upon as questions of power only. For example, we do not use our minorities in other countries as political instrumentalities; we have not allied ourselves with other dissatisfied powers to enforce revision of the peace treaties. And we are determined to keep the peace: We want America as an ally in this peace work; we want her people to be interested in Europe, not to be embroiled in European quarrels.

Our present Russian politics are born of the Treaty of Rapallo. Although the economic results of our friendship with Russia have been disappointing, the Treaty of Rapallo is of the highest political importance; first because it rests on the fact that the new system will keep up its power, and this treaty states that opinion officially for the first time in Germany; and second, because it gave us an advantage politically, insuring our position toward Russia as the mouthpiece of Europe.

What then is to be the attitude of the new generation toward Russia? It seems to me first, that the present system in Russia, probably in a very modified form, will hold its own. Second, that the Russian peasants, being in fact the most important element in the country and forming a very substantial majority, are likely to come to power. The strengthening of the present system, owing to the enormous possibilities and latent wealth of the country, is likely to make the soviet rule very attractive to its neighbors. Russian ideas will flourish in the countries near her borders. Should the Russian peasants come to power—which is quite likely, even without the use of force—then Russian influence will constitute a grave danger for Eastern Europe. Eastern Europe—Europe considered as a unit industrial—is wholly agrarian. It would thus be ready to lend a willing ear to Russian ideas. It is the "Peasants' International" which may capture Eastern Europe.

Now, in my opinion, Russia has definitely decided not to become a part of the European structure; not to join "Western culture" but to build her own. Here is the danger to Eastern Europe, if Russia succeeds in estranging its eastern portions. Until now the peasant movements in Rumania, Jugoslavia and so on have not been directed against Europe as a system. What if these peasants some day receive their orders from a "Green International," with headquarters at Moscow?

This agrarian situation is just the same and just as vital for Germany, constituted as she is with an industrial West—a center of European intellectual activity—and an agrarian East, still bearing some of the characteristics of a colonial settlement. Since this problem of satisfying the eastern provinces is so vital to Germany's well-being, it is clear that Germany must solve it, not only as a German problem, but as the European problem. It is impossible as yet to foresee the lines of the Russian development (*Continued on page* 628)

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"In Questa Tomba Oscura?"

(Within the Tomb—Forgotten?)

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My Dear Mooney:

I hope you will excuse me for keeping your papers so long. I am surprised to see how complete the case is. It is hard to imagine the Governor keeping you in prison after reading these documents.

They ought to result in a release. However, there is something that is keeping you beyond what applies to the ordinary prisoner. When the Judge, the State's Attorney, the Police Department, and the jurors confess that they were mistaken and ask for your pardon, it ought to be enough.

I think this should be printed. It ought to be placed in the hands of everyone in California, so far as it can be done. It is not at all likely that the people understand the situation. I hardly know what they could get out in reply. I don't see how they could do anything that could overcome a Judge and a State's Attorney and the case against Oxman.

I presume the question of money will cut some figure. Let me know what it will cost and I will see if I cannot raise the money here. Personally I will pledge myself to $500.

Very Truly Yours,

CLARENCE DARROW

Judge Griffin's Letter

SUPERIOR COURT
Department Five
City Hall, San Francisco

January 20, 1928

Honorable C. C. Young,
Governor of California,
Sacramento, Calif.

My Dear Governor:

I have intended for some time to write to you briefly concerning the case of Thomas J. Mooney. So far as the facts are concerned, I cannot add anything to what I have already written to your predecessors in office, Governor Stephens and Governor Richardson.

There is, however, one aspect of the case which, with the greatest respect for your good judgment and opinion, I would discuss with you, and that is, that Mooney should be paroled before his application for pardon is considered. I cannot agree with this position for the reason that, in my opinion, Mooney's case is no different from any other man who has been wrongfully and upon perjured testimony convicted of a crime of which subsequent developments absolutely demonstrate his innocence.

Speaking very frankly, it seems to be that the great obstacle in the way of Mooney's pardon has been his alleged bad reputation. In other words he has been denied real justice because the opinion seems to be prevalent, that he is a dangerous man to be at large and therefore should be, innocent or guilty, kept in prison.

Conceding for the sake of argument that Mooney has been all that he is painted, it is, to say the least, most specious reasoning; indeed no reason at all, why Mooney should be denied the justice, which, under our system, is due even the most degraded. Moreover, such a doctrine is more dangerous and pernicious than any Mooney has been accused of preaching.

I hope and trust that the great wrong done Mooney of which I was unwittingly a part, will now without delay, in so far as this State may accomplish it, be remedied.

Very Sincerely Yours,

FRANKLIN A. GRIFFIN
Judge.

MOONEY AFTER 12 YEARS IN PRISON

Tom Mooney's Appeal

In a Living Grave

My Dear Friends:

The other evening I was playing a record on the phonograph, Beethoven's "In Questa Tomba Oscura." It was sung by Feodor Chaliapin. It struck me very forcibly. Warren Billings and I are, for all practical purpose, forgotten. We are now rounding out our thirteenth year of the most cruel and unjust imprisonment—and for a crime of which we are absolutely innocent.

My petition for pardon has been in the Governor's office for two years. It has not been read yet. He says it will take him A VERY CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF MONTHS TO READ IT—in his spare hours. He wrote Judge Griffin that the only time this can be done is during vacation, yet my petition has been in his office during two vacations and is still unread.

I want to publish the documents of my case, now before the Governor, and send them to every registered voter in California. To me this seems to be our only hope.

Will you help me do this? I urgently appeal to every reader of the Survey Graphic to send a contribution to this fund started by Clarence Darrow and a few other friends.

TOM MOONEY

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Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee. P.O. Box 1475, San Francisco

MARY E. GALLAGHER, *Secretary*

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In his earlier visits Dr. Adler was pressed for time, and his audiences had to be content with quick summaries of his views. This is peculiarly unfortunate in the handling of material which is all too human, which requires not only scientific analysis—a comparatively easy process—but a broad wisdom which can only be transmitted in continuous association.

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ourselves. But meanwhile the employer is likely to continue to ask "Why should I pay my workmen more, as long as the new machinery costs me money for installation and requires less sweat of them?" Certainly the same distrust appears to run into even the highest circles of the country's business organization: even the biggest concerns plan to have two heads —one of them commercial and one technical—with the best results supposed to come only when these two are enemies!

But, by the same token, I expect to be hard-boiled if any one endeavors to preach from a German text to me! To each country must be granted the right to pursue those social objectives which appear to it at the moment to be most lovely and of best repute—with the fateful choice made always by every people, whether for better or for worse, in the light not of logic but of life—the hopes and fears, especially the fears, born of its own day-by-day contact with the conditions furnished by its own social setting—with that setting in turn enormously influenced by the geographical and other physical factors of its chief industries.

Thus it would be hard, for instance, to imagine a greater difference than between a coal enterprise in the Ruhr and one in, say, our own western Pennsylvania.

It is easy to recall the glee with which my German buddy anticipated shocking me with the housing conditions he would show me among the lately arrived Polish miners from East Prussia. He was disappointed; they were better housed than my companions in two coal towns at home—though not so well as my working friends in England's Yorkshire or Wales' Rhondda.

But one very tangible reason for this is not hard to seek—the nearness of Ruhr coal to Ruhr steel. Many of the district's hoists bring up the black fuel right onto the loading floors of her busy coke ovens. Everywhere, indeed, her great tipples are interspersed with the huge stacks of factory and steel plant for putting on the Ruhr horizon a vast cyclopean picket fence! It goes without saying that such a fence saves millions of dollars of the freight that must be paid by our own mines or even by those British pits whose average haul to the consumer is said to average less than thirty miles.

Another reason for the Ruhr's—and also Britain's—brick and stone-housed miners on the fringes of great towns and cities, is that whereas Germany's and Britain's veins have been worked long enough to make the towns both permanent and well built, many of our own coal settlements are not only new but temporary—unpainted frames looking with sad and sullen eyes at probable abandonment as soon as the first vein or two, a few hundred feet below-ground, are worked out. Here at home I have loaded soft coal at four hundred and five hundred feet—many of our veins, indeed, enter the hill at grade! In Wales the seam was a thousand feet down. In the Ruhr the 1650-foot level was soon to be abandoned for a fresh one at 1800!

It is this series of worked-out veins beneath a highly factory-ized and thickly settled district which demands, indeed, the attention of every home builder. For if you are wise, you will take your plans to the coal employers' Syndikat, which practices inter-company teamwork in its engineering as well as in its purchasing and selling. If the Syndikat's engineers find that your house is located in a much-mined location, you will be offered financial cooperation for putting it practically upon jacks. If then the northeast corner of your bungalow later shows a tendency to get discouraged, you need only go out and give the northeast jack a turn or two, and so proceed to live again upon the level!

That Syndikat works of course for stabilizing many more things than homes—and it is itself another result of that same number and depth of veins. For the very financial investment required makes organization possible and so helps to save Germany from our own "too many mines and too many miners!" For this plague follows largely from coal which lies so near the surface that thousands of farmers, for instance, find it easy to be "snow-bird" operators—willing to haul down to the local siding a few truckloads from the hill-lot during the wintriest, highest-priced months, but unwilling to face the industry's responsibilities. Many American operators would hail a new chapter in coal history if governmental or other factors favored such a get-together as would here permit the figures you can see every evening in the station at Essen for the entire Ruhr district:

Cars ordered last night: 22,617
Cars placed this morning: 22,506
Cars moved today: 22,480

These figures, added to similar ones for all the country's operations, indicate as well as favor the handling of the national unified industry in a manner sure to lessen more than a few of the evils we know here. It has a connection, of course, with the fact that today the German miners, in spite of the splits among their unions, suffer no such disorganization as do Britain's colliers since the General Strike, or our own since the last conflict over the Jacksonville scale.

Similar differences could doubtless be shown in various other of Germany's industries and hence of her social background. Her social planning and approach, accordingly, are likely long to differ in much the same measure from our own.

That being so, we here at home need not lightly assume that, in view of our American—our pioneer—past, worker-security is any more important as a social objective than worker-opportunity—not that, under our circumstances, we should throw overboard the use of mutual worker-manager contact and education, as a perhaps slow but nevertheless highly valuable tool toward both security and opportunity. After all, the difference between education and compulsion is the difference between leading and driving, between democracy and monarchy. Let us recall the definition of a British statesman:

"Monarchy," he said, "is like a great ship. In all the pomp and panoply of power, it rides the waves with all sails set until it strikes a rock. Then it goes down forever! Democracy is like a raft. You can't sink the thing, but, damn it, your feet are always in the water!"

UNCERTAIN FUTURE + JOLTY PAST =
(*Continued from page* 574)

YOUTH LOOKS IN AND OUT
(*Continued from page* 624)

or how the issues will present themselves. The real work that has to be done in preparation for the Russian question is to try to find a new form of living for the eastern states in industrial Europe, and the first step is to set an example and satisfy the agrarian eastern provinces with their position in an industrial state. By so doing, German policy will go the only way there is to save the eastern states for Europe.

This is the work awaiting the new generation; the work which a large section of the "unpolitical" German youth has consciously and unconsciously set about to do; of the greatest importance, towering above all party politics.

THE RELEASE OF EDUCATION
(*Continued from page* 586)

for economic reasons during the worst period of inflation to enable students of both sexes to earn the cost of their schooling by work, mostly with their hands, and with vast possibilities of bringing together young people of both intellectual and working classes, with a change of personal and social outlook.

Another movement, gaining in strength from year to year, will have in time a far-reaching influence: the adult-school movement (*Volkshochschulbewegung*) with its tendency to make education a life-long process for all. It is a striking feature within the life of the new Germany that these *Volkshochschulen* have been of little success wherever they have been established *from above* through authorities or benevolent donors, but that they are flourishing where they are the result of a spontaneous effort on the part of people of the working class to raise their standards of intellectual and spiritual life; supported by intellectuals who wholeheartedly join their movement and find it a matter of mutual give-and-take. The Deutsche Hochschule für Politik, a postgraduate school for social and political science, democratic and republican, but non-partisan, is another most hopeful sign out of a joint educational and political effort.

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IF on the whole, in spite of much enthusiasm and effort in detail, the visible progress is still disappointingly slow, there are reasons for that. Apart from general inertia, even increasing since 1918 through disappointments in the political sphere, there are enormous financial difficulties. Primary schools until the age of fourteen, and continuation schools which are compulsory until the age of eighteen are free: for the secondary schools up to eighteen or nineteen years, the state and the community contribute 70 per cent to 75 per cent out of public money and the rest is raised through fees; for the universities the share of the state in the financial upkeep is still greater.

There are no privately endowed universities in Germany, and private schools, with the exception of some daring experiments, are of little significance. This is by no means to underrate or reflect unfavorably upon these experiments. They are indeed of great potential importance, and certainly will have their leavening effect upon educational spirit and method. But they are neither so numerous, even relatively, nor so influential as in the United States. And there is a marked difference in our attitude toward them; we do not regard as desirable their indefinite multiplication. Inevitably they would tend to deprive the ordinary schools of stimulus and enrichment through the presence of children with highly intellectual background and good social habits; to emphasize class distinctions, and to create "happy oases" aloof from the common life. But I intend no derogation of them or of others equally notable in mentioning Kurt Hahn's Schule-Schloss in Baden, the Freie Schulgemeinde Wickersdorf near Saalfeld in Thuringia, the Schule am Meer on the Island of Juist, Nordsee.

ANOTHER drawback in the gradual realization of new educational ideas are the many political changes in the governments of the different states. As a result of new elections, the post of the minister of education will often change, and in many cases his point of view will be more political in the narrow sense of party politics, than educational and democratic in the broad sense of preparing a new spirit in politics through a wider outlook in education. From that point of view it might seem desirable to have an imperial school bill for the whole of Germany, to assure permanent and consistent progress in the right direction. But in practice, it seems too early for the many new movements to crystallize into one and to establish a common opinion about what is the "right direction." The school bill (*Reichsschulgesetz*) which was before the last session of the Reichstag has taught us two things: that the reactionary elements are still too much in power to give way for truly liberal und promising general school legislation; and that the tendencies towards democracy, mutual tolerance and freedom of development have so much inner force that they cannot be defeated nor ignored, even if—as was the case under the last Reichstag—they happen to form the momentary political minority.

We live in a period of transition. We are *moving*. In one sense more rapidly than countries which have been less shaken by the War and by outward political changes, and at the same time more fundamentally and therefore slower. It seems of great importance that for a while things should be kept moving—at the cost of temporary drawbacks—and that the synthesis should not be made too early. The more vital contacts there are between the rising and striving new Germany and the progressive movements in other parts of the world, the more hope there will be for her offering a contribution to the gradual liberation of mankind from what is dead in the great inheritance of the past.

UNSEATING "KULTUR"

(*Continued from page* 590)

cratic pre-war Germany was far less ready than the Germany of today to accept standards that, under pressure of American competition, are becoming every month more highly standardized.

Now, owing to a historical coincidence, American industrial preeminence and American military prestige smote simultaneously upon the European carapace. Therefore, in turning democratic and occidental, Germany thinks to become and is superficially becoming "American." Customs like gum-chewing and sport, blessings like American bars, ornaments like American belts, are common through the country. American financial and industrial methods are being closely studied and to some extent copied. Even American habits of thought are gaining hold on the newly developed type of ultra-practical German leader.

But men are fundamentally governed as much by ideas as by practical necessities. It is in the realm of thought that the German future will be decided, and it is precisely here that no new synthesis has yet been possible. While the politicians (grudgingly) and the men of money and machinery (with alacrity) have accepted (*Continued on page* 631)

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(*Continued from page* 629) "westernization," cultured Germany clings to what is left of *Kultur* and does not want to share the "mindless flatness of the western nations."

Some of my young German friends still live amid the wilted posies of romanticism and speak of the utilitarian United States almost as if they read The American Mercury. To them it seems highly possible for Germany to bridge the gulf to the past and thus reconstitute the ancient Teutonic unity; some even advocate return to the cult of the ancient Norse gods and the reading of the Niebelungenlied as appropriate steps. But to most sensible people this smells of beer festivals at Bayreuth. The real German problem is how to fill the new political and social system with a soul that shall be both German and modern.

Now the German spirit is mighty and the German mind endlessly fruitful. Though in pure art and literature the country shares in the Euramerican cultural decline, in the realms of thought, history, science and social affairs, the revolution seems rather to have purified than to have depressed the atmosphere. Applied to practical life, the German spirit, working through a docile population possessing endless patience and limited requirements, ought to insure the new Republic the industrial leadership of the European continent, second only to the United States in economic power.

BUT such power could not in itself justify the Republic or satisfy the claim for an intense inner life. If new Germany is to mean more to the world than an efficient workshop and a powerful state, some of the old inwardness must be preserved. Something of *Kultur* seems necessary to any adequate spiritual creation. It is safe to assume that within the limits of the historical moment, a wise synthesis of traditional *Kultur* and modern empirical cunning would be likely to give the Germans a very important place in the world development of the next decades. For the modern world, so powerful and prepossessing in its externals, suffers from the absence of any dependable selective principle in spiritual matters. The notion that one man's opinion is as good as another's can do little harm in the world of things, since experience so quickly corrects it and points to real results as the pragmatic test. But in the choice of ideals themselves, no such external criterion is available and the results are correspondingly meretricious. Should the *Kultur* tradition enable the Germans to avoid the democratic fallacy in matters of mind, while in the practical social field, going forward toward direct democracy and juster economic distribution, this people might come to lead thinking humanity towards the new era so many moderns feel the need for.

If as I assume, modern technique is so universal and appealing that no people can refuse it, Russia and the East, as well as Africa, are bound to become "Americanized"—that is, industrialized on a superficially democratic basis. Such a forcible vaccination is bound to create the liveliest resistance. Whether it can be accomplished without actual conflict amounting in the worst hypothesis to world catastrophe, will depend upon the ability of the two parties—the western surgeon and the eastern patient—to make adequate allowance for each other. While the German is psychologically obtuse in dealing with the western nations, it is possible that his brooding nature finds quicker contact with Orientals and semi-Oriental Russians. Even before the War, the German in Russia was less foreign than other foreigners and his practical contacts were surer and more profitable. As a mediator between western democracy and a fixed spiritual hierarchy of the mind, as a link between East and West, Germany might win a future fully as brilliant as, and certainly more significant than, its past!

Failure to remain spiritually original would seem to condemn the nation to playing second fiddle to the United States—a part in which few Germans would find adequate self-expression.

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drama, or dramatic lollipops, these modern German plays seem the work of psychopaths. And yet the authors are only continuing the tradition of the greatest dramatists before them.

Fritz von Unruh's Ein Geschlecht (One Generation) and Opfergang (The Way of Sacrifice), Georg Kaiser's Holle Weg Erde, his trilogy Die Koralle (The Coral) with its better-known second part, Gas; his Von Morgen bis Mitternacht (From Morn to Midnight) and Nebeneinander (Side by Side); Toller's poignant Hinkemann, and the mystic abstractions of the painter Oskar Kokoscha and the sculptor Ernst Barlach, these are the direct result of post-war disillusion and the inflation madness, in forms as chaotic as life was then.

Arnolt Bronnen and Bert Brecht have gone still further. They are too young to have fought in the War or taken an active part in the revolution: their attitude is detached and their chief interest is their personal reaction to this world of mad men. In their "drama of the ego" they ruthlessly forsake all human decencies in an attempt to write themselves into simplicity and unity *à la* Freud.

But true to the time spirit, as German life steadies to a saner tempo, dramatists begin to relax. After half a dozen plays on every conceivable variation of sexual and social excess (many of them put on at the Berlin State Theater), Bronnen has recently produced an excellent comedy, Reparations (!), while Brecht's philosophical farce, Man Is Man, has had a well-deserved popular success, and his adaptation of The Beggar's Opera is being given this fall. Georg Kaiser has so far weathered the storms of social upheaval that his latest play, October Day, is to have a New York premiere almost as soon as the play is given in Berlin. Carl Sternheim's polished irony is now directed against the foibles of the callous post-war flapper (The School of Uznach), as once he satirized the *Spiessbürger* of imperial days. Walter Hasenclever, whose fiery youth was strewn with the ruins of literary experiment, takes a laugh at Americanized Teutons in Ein Besserer Herr (Quite the Gentleman). Toller is bitter but objective in Hoppla Wir Leben (Anyhow We're Alive), while Fritz von Unruh examines the question of monarchy and republic and the mystic conception of might in his last play, Bonaparte. As Germany steadies, normal life will again induce interest in normal problems and will be reflected in the theater.

STAGECRAFT, too, keeps up with the requirements of this almost "journalistic" drama. Under the influence of the Russians, Tairoff and Meyerhold, constructivist scenery, with spotlights picking scenes out of the blackness, and all the paraphernalia of Expressionism swept over Germany, proving an interesting but transitional experiment.

There is no lack of creative minds in the German theatrical world: one of the most prominent is Leopold Jessner of the Berlin State Theater who, partly from lack of funds, but largely from personal choice, seeks to reduce everything to its simplest formula, condensing and compressing both in scenic effect and linguistic expression. He adapts the classics to the ideas of the living generation and regards the stage as an arena of philosophy. He is outstripped in this matter by Erwin Piscator, most original and capable producer, who goes so far as to enlist it in the service of Communist party propaganda.

Excellent work of the intensest concentration is being done by men like Karl Heinz Martin, Jurgen Fehling, Gustav Hartung and Fritz Holl: in spite of the prevalence of meretricious pieces, German, American and English, there is a steady and continuous production of Shakespeare, Schiller, Goethe, Kleist, Hauptmann, Wedekind, Ibsen and Shaw. At the Volksbühne, or Peoples' Theater, which stands in the midst of a workmen's quarter and is run on subscription lines that offer extremely advantageous terms to its thousands of impecunious members, the literary level is exceptionally high: the old repertory system prevails, classics are run alternately with excellent modern plays.

The theater means so much to the average German, his interest is so highly specialized (there are extensive dramatic schools in Berlin and the provinces, and chairs for histrionic research in the universities at Berlin, Kiel, Munich, Frankfort and Cologne), that there is little likelihood that it will be permanently jeopardized by the films. Although Germany is the leading European film producer, the combined production of Germany, Great Britain, and Russia (America's only rivals), is far below that of the United States.

American films are very popular among film fans; connoisseurs prefer Russian; picture houses do not open in Germany until after seven in the evening (on Saturdays and Sundays at five), and no one under eighteen is allowed to enter, unless the censor considers the performance harmless and educational. Films are, however, used very extensively in the schools for various forms of teaching, and Piscator combines them successfully with plastic scenery on the stage.

DRAMA AND MUSIC

(*Continued from page* 597)

IT is impossible in so short a space to give more than the briefest outline of the tendencies in music during the last ten years in Germany. The work of men like Richard Strauss, Hans Pfitzner and the late Leoš Janáček is too well known to need comment.

Strauss, in spite of his absorption in externals, and psychological limitations, is certainly one of the most fertile composers of the century and has enriched the opera with many new artistic means. Hans Pfitzner is one of the last great Romantics: while Janáček, a Czeck, drew all his inspiration from his native folk-music: unlike the moderns, he rejects the intellectual element in composition. Although contemporaries, I do not consider the work of these three "modern" in the sense of showing the direction in which music is moving.

The younger composers fall into two groups: the followers of the old masters, and the experimentalists. Wagner exerted such a colossal power on German opera that it has been very hard for composers to escape his influence: some of the best post-Wagnerites, Franz Schreker and Erich Korngold, have imparted a sexual psychoanalytical intensity to their works, without expressing much originality. The other group is entirely independent of the Wagnerian tradition. Its most mature representative was the late Ferruccio Busoni, a man of immense intellect and culture; the younger men comprise the Austrians, Alban Berg, Egon Wellesz, and Arnold Schönberg, the Czeck, Ernst Krenek, Paul Hindemith, and that *enfant terrible* Kurt Weill. In their desire to break with the romantic tradition of opera, they have intellectualized it, seeking to get beyond pathos to pure expression. They are striving for much the same sort of unity as the latest dramatists, and they reflect the spirit of the age with fanatical, self-destructive, almost contemptuous fury.

CHAMBER music tempts them little: with the exception of Schönberg's Septette and some string quartettes by Hindemith, and Wellesz's mosaic-like themes, there has been little produced. What symphonic work they have composed is mostly written for the "chamber" orchestra, for these young men abhor excessive orchestral flourish and all "program music." Their attitude to the song is interesting for they are seeking to create a new type of "spoken singing." Schönberg employs it in his Pierrot Lunaire, and in the choruses of his opera, The Lucky Hand (Breslau Opera House, 1928); so does Hindemith in the song cycle The Young Maiden, and in a number of lyrics. There is very little depth of feeling in this form of composition; little melody, rhythm or illustrative harmony: nor does the text play an important rôle; most of these musicians use their librettos as a stimulus to "absolute" music.

In opera these young men have been most productive. Alban Berg's Wozzek (Berlin State Opera House, 1926) opens a new path in dramatic music: each of the fifteen scenes follows a special musical form; the music is a-tonal, but full of dramatic sequence and characterization. Krenek has been bolder and brought in electrifying jazz rhythms. Everything that is typical in contemporary life finds a place in his opera Jonny Spielt Auf: movies, radio, loud speakers, foxtrotting, exoticism, revues, grand hotels, express trains: the mere staging of such a piece was a triumph of modern production, and yet the essential part is the music, with its inclusion of an American "blues," a shimmy, and Negro spirituals. Krenek is conductor at the Prussian State Theater at (*Continued on page* 639)

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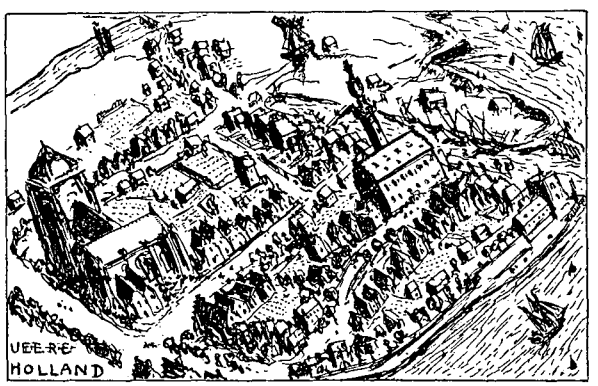
Traveler's Notebook

AMERICAN visitors to the new Germany have an unusual pivot for contacts in the Vereinigung Carl Schurz. This is an association the membership of which is representative of all political parties (except the extremes) interested not only in furthering good relations between the United States and Germany but in making for acquaintance between citizens of both republics to whom the revolutionists of '48 and what they stood for are symbols of the spirit of the new time. On March 2, a series of public celebrations will be held in the Reichstag; in Munich, Cologne, Stuttgart and other cities. Two years ago, on invitation of the association, a group of editors of German-American newspapers visited Germany, and last summer about a dozen college students, young men and women from as many universities who had been selected because of their interest in international affairs. Secretary of Labor Davis, and a succession of American public officials, educators, and publicists, are among those who have taken advantage of the freely given services of the association. It is bringing out an anniversary volume on Carl Schurz to which



A HIGH-UP ON THE LOW COUNTRY

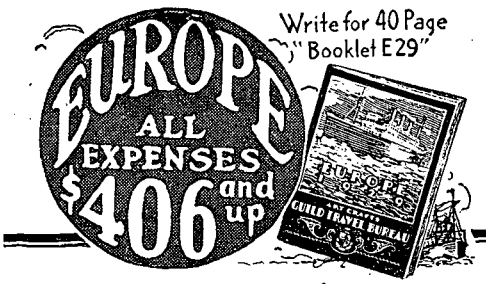
Drawn by Hendrik Willem himself and sent to The Survey staff with New Year's wishes from the Van Loons and the Francis Hacketts who were spending the holidays together at Ueere, Holland

both Americans and Germans contribute, and which will include hitherto unpublished letters and documents. Its address is Potsdamer Strasse 21a, Berlin, and the secretary, Fl. Dr. Gertrud Ferber, to whom the editors of Survey Graphic are indebted for spirited collaboration in scouting for this issue.

IF you are in Germany and are one of those who refuse to go to public celebrations in honor of great men, you may like to visit the exposition on Man in Health and Sickness, held in March at Hamburg. It is a part of the traveling exposition of the German Hygiene Museum of Dresden. We have never seen it, ourselves, but it may prove worth your while to find out how the efficient Germans do such things.

While we are at exhibitions, mention should be made of the German Caricatures Before and After the War, at Mannheim, February to March. . . . On March 10, Heidelberg stages a unique folk-festival of the Rhenish population. Ask the grand marshal why it is called the Summer Day Parade. . . . The city of Königsburg, where the spirit of Kant is still supposed to reign, is host to the Association of German Librarians, whose annual meeting is held there the end of May. Judging by our American experience, we presume that each delegate will come fortified with a new and complete system of how books should or should not be classified.

If you did not get sufficient hot air in the last campaign,



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drop in at the exposition on Gas and Water, to be held in Berlin from April 19 to July 27. . . . If your tastes run in a somewhat different direction, the Germans offer the Palentine Wine Week with an exposition on the technique and organization of the wine industry. This is to be seen or sampled at Neustadt a. H., July 18-25.

They are all getting Americanized even in Germany. One will be in a better position to judge of the speed with which they are coming along after a visit to the first German Advertising Exposition scheduled in Berlin for September 22 to October 20. This is held in connection with the twenty-fifth International Advertising Congress. We wonder whether Stuart Chase, of The Tragedy of Waste fame, will appear as fraternal delegate.

For those who refuse to waste their time on worldly problems, Freiburg offers in September the International Astrologers' Congress. You probably know that these are the people who have discovered the riddle of the universe in the twelve celestial signs. Some of them never address one by the proper name. A person to them is either a Scorpion, Jemini, Taurus or any of the other nine heavenly signs.

A GOOD source of information on British-American relations is the English-Speaking Union of the United States with national headquarters in New York City (19 West 44 Street). The society's bulletin, Common Speech, under the editorship of John E. Daniels, made its bow in October, 1928. Congratulations on the title. . . . Paris is opening its New Year with the Foire aux Jambons (Ham Fair). . . . For further notices on events in Great Britain and France during 1929, watch this column.

If in Geneva, you will be able to determine the exact amount of accurate misinformation on the League of Nations possessed by some of our senators. Directly connected with the work of the league is the International Labor Office which will hold its twelfth session on May 30. And of course there are various summer schools for students of international affairs.

Let us not forget Czechoslovakia, the country to which was devoted the first graphic number of The Survey, a year before the Survey Graphic made its appearance. That land celebrates, on March 7, Masaryk Day. More power to the great old gentleman! . . . At Dragör, Denmark, on February 12, the Danes, instead of celebrating Lincoln's birthday, put on the annual show of Killing the Cat in the Barrel, whatever that is. They are all democrats there, so the game is attended by the royal family, which does not yet include, as the Swedish one does, an American heiress.

Speaking of Denmark, the fifth International Conference of the New Education Fellowship takes place at Elsinore, or, as the Danes call it, Helsingör, August 8 to 22. The general theme will be Individual Psychology and the New Curriculum. Among the speakers from the U. S. A. will be Harry Overstreet, Harold Rugg and A. M. Ayer—all doctors and, of course, professors—and from India, health permitting, the poet, Rabindranath Tagore.

NOW a word of welcome to our friends who bring the foreign countries to us, and lecture to "materialistic" America. H. N. Brailsford, the distinguished English publicist, and Professor Gaetano Salvemini, familiar to the readers of Survey Graphic on Fascism, can both be heard at the New School for Social Research in New York. . . . S. K. Ratcliffe, whose farewell tours fortunately have been like Patti's, expects to arrive on February 26, or perhaps earlier—possibly for Hoover's inauguration, but let's hope we'll have the luck to hear some of his interesting lectures again. . . ? Dr. E. Stanley Jones, American missionary in India, and author of books on that country, spent the summer in the United States and is on his way back. . . . Madame Sarojini Naidu, the greatest woman of present-day India, is that eastern sub-continent's unofficial ambassador, and surely no one can talk on nationalist India with greater authority than she does. Madame Naidu tells eloquently to scores of American audiences what Mother Mayo thought we need not know. . . . She will soon be reinforced by C. F. Andrews, the closest friend both of Gandhi and Tagore, who was due to arrive on January 17. . . . The Mahatma himself expects to visit Romain Rolland next summer. . . . Items pertinent to this column will be welcomed.

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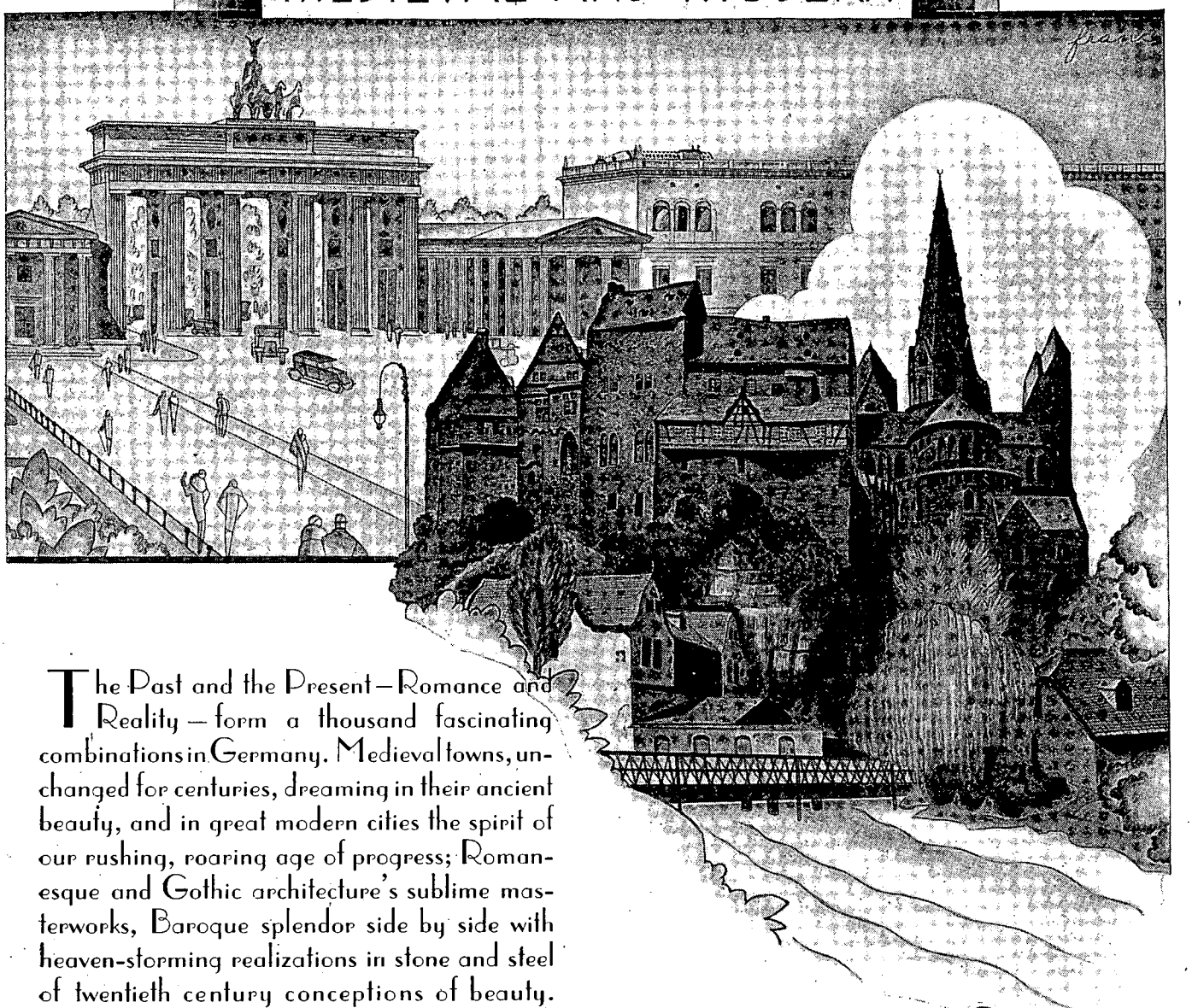
GERMANY
MEDIEVAL AND MODERN



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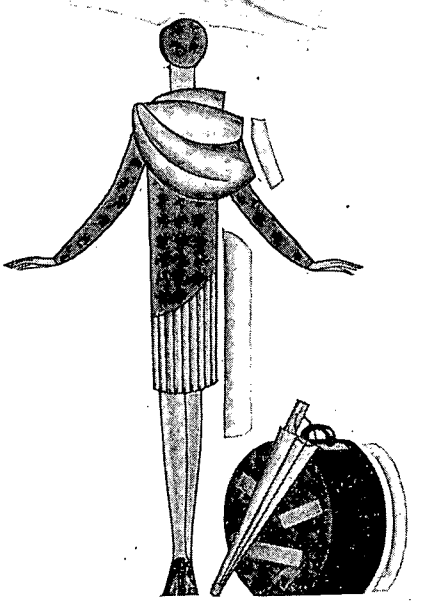

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(*Continued from page* 634) Cassel and has written another opera on a labor theme, as well as three one-act operas recently produced at Wiesbaden. Hindemith's Cardillac (Berlin State Opera House, 1928), which one bewildered critic dubbed "criminal pathology with music," gave but a small idea of the great gifts of this original young composer: Kurt Weill's Royal Palace (State Opera House, 1926) is a one-act work, a study in musical moods on the "opera-bouffe" lines. Weill has a fine sense of irony: his latest work, The Tzar Has Himself Photographed, is typical of the new spirit, which is being substituted for the emotional intensity of less advanced music.

There is plenty of support for these radicals although they rarely have a great success with the public, who still prefer the admirable repetitions and new interpretations of the classics. Still they get produced: during the last ten months even there have been seventeen new operatic works staged in the provinces alone—a fine indication of the creative faculties of the young German Republic.

THE GERMAN OFFICERS' DILEMMA

(*Continued from page* 554)

still in arms against an enemy threatening our country with invasion by land and sea, and was not the iron discipline of military rule sufficient guarantee against any possible attempt to inaugurate a revolutionary movement? The oath of fealty sworn by each individual officer of the great army in the field and in the home garrisons, to the kings and princes of the states and to the Emperor in supreme command—a pledge which we intended and felt confident of being able to keep—seemed like an iron rivet which would hold the structure of state and federal authority against every possible shock from within or without. We had never a doubt of the chain of solidarity securely binding together all social and racial sectors of the German people.

ABOVE all, was there not some one in addition to the Emperor at general headquarters in supreme charge of the armed forces and in possession of such authority, respect and confidence that for every soldier, and for every man, woman and child at home, his mere existence seemed a guarantee against any adverse eventuality? The man who, as by miracle, had delivered the eastern provinces of Germany from the invasion of the Russian hordes in the first months of the War when all military resources were concentrated in the West; who had conquered the whole East and then, called to take charge of the other theaters of war, had added victory to victory in every new undertaking his genius had decided upon; who seemed invincible and who, we were confident, ultimately would turn the stagnant war-front on the West to victory when the moment for such action had come . . . no one would dare to turn against *him*!

He was much more than a martial figure to us all. The fourth year of the War already had brought legend into the picture of his life and personality. It was he who, at the time of the most menacing food conditions, had opened up the granaries of Rumania and southern Russia and thus brought help to the starving people of the Central Powers; he who, in organizing a great military administration in the eastern countries, showed qualities beyond mere military leadership and strategy.

Called at the outbreak of the War from obscure retirement to take command in the East, and, after one of the greatest and most masterful victories ever achieved, suddenly flooded with the limelight of military fame and popularity, he appeared to the masses like a helper sent from above at the hour of greatest need. His towering frame, his biblical age, his venerable appearance, his kindly eye, the extraordinary nature of his advent—all combined in an almost superhuman impression. The mind of the whole nation looked up to him as father and guardian of the country. In his presence no serious harm could befall. Hindenburg's presence at general headquarters acted like a sedative upon the troubled mind of the nation. Even the most enlightened men and women felt that as long as *he* was there, everything must somehow be in order.

Out of such a sky broke the storm. As in the Russian revolution of 1905, it started in the navy. The subversive elements were the stokers and sailors of the German grand fleet, i. e., of that part of the armed forces which, with

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the exception of the Battle of Jutland, had scarcely been put into action as a whole during all the War. Inadequate food and too harsh discipline had been their complaint; but the fear of being sacrificed by the German High Command in a great effort to turn the stagnant tide of the War, was the acknowledged motive of the ring-leaders for the desperate action they took.

Physically weakened and rapidly losing the power of resistance under the pressure of the increasingly serious political and military situation and effective enemy propaganda, the home population, including the political leaders, capitulated before the mutinous sailors within a few hours. The home garrisons followed the example of the fleet, and thus within a couple of days the whole country was in the hands of the soldiers' and workmen's committees, organized after the pattern of Soviet Russia.

The field army looked to general headquarters; not to the Emperor, who had sought refuge there when the situation at Berlin began to look ominous, but to Hindenburg, "Father of the Army." At that moment Germany's fate lay in the hands of the old field-marshal; he held the confidence of the army.

Had he turned the army away from the enemy, still held at bay all along the endless front line (though a strategic retreat was under way), and marched against the insurgents at home, the officers, almost to a man, would have followed him, and with them the rank and file in the field, which with small exception had maintained full discipline.

If, on the other hand, he showed another way out of the fearful dilemma, this way would be accepted. Officers and men alike had come to regard Hindenburg as a leader given them by destiny.

A terrible responsibility faced that man. If he accepted the revolution as the home authorities had done, it meant the fall of the dynasty, and with it of the monarchical glory and tradition to which he and his forefathers had been linked for centuries, and on which rested the foundations of the great military organization he himself was leading. If instead he took up battle against the revolution, it meant not only complete surrender of the front to the determined enemy, with all the consequences of defeat and invasion, but above all it would mean a terrible shedding of German blood by Germans.

IN THIS critical moment, the historical importance of which hardly has been realized, the fateful decision was taken out of the hands of the field-marshal by the Emperor himself, who, comprehending the terrible price at which alone the attempt to retain his crown could be made, voluntarily renounced the crown and left the country, thus eliminating an issue which would have multiplied new miseries for his already terribly stricken people.

He was then and has been since reproached for not bringing the supreme sacrifice of his own life by offering himself to an enemy bullet at the front. . . . I think all parties concerned have only reason to be grateful to the Emperor who solved the dilemma by eliminating his person and the monarchical cause at this crucial moment. Thus he liberated all those who otherwise would have been bound by oath to his service; setting them free to devote their lives and their vital assets to their country under the new form of government; to their country which never so much as now needed the service of all her sons.

And most of all that of the great field-marshal. He, with unqualified respect and confidence both at home and in the army in the field, was the one pillar which held when all other supports of the national and social structures fell. He was the one and inspiring light that continued to shine when everything else was dark. Had this light been extinguished, the nation would have resigned itself to despair and Germany's fate would probably have become that of Russia.

The dilemma which Hindenburg faced was faced alike by all the officers below him, each in his way and circumstances. Even as he held supreme the obligation to serve his country, so the rest of us have followed his example. Remaining at the head of the supreme command and leading the army home into peaceful demobilization, he enabled the thousands of leaders in lower positions to act in similar spirit. So the structure of the social and state organization was largely preserved; the German nation was enabled to conserve the mass of its cultural and political assets in spite of the revolution in government.

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